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Birch, Thomas, comp

THE
COURT AND TIMES
OF
JAMES THE FIRST;

ILLUSTRATED BY
AUTHENTIC AND CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS,
FROM VARIOUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

EDITED,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,
BY THE AUTHOR OF
"MEMOIRS OF SOPHIA DOROTHEA," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1849.

F. Shoberl, Jun., Printer to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 51, Rupert Street, Haymarket.

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INTRODUCTION.

The work now presented to the reader owes its existence to the research of Dr. Thomas Birch, an industrious historical scholar, who died in 1766, and whose works are well known. Having access to almost every important public and private collection of manuscripts in the kingdom, he entertained the idea of putting together a consecutive series of the most interesting correspondence of the seventeenth century. With this object, he selected, instead of the communications of the great officers of state to each other, of which he had already given one example in the Thurloe State Papers, the far more entertaining correspondence of the professed writers of news, or "Intelligencers," as they were then called, who were employed by ambassadors in foreign countries, and great men at home, to furnish them with a continual account of every event that came under their observation. To these he added the private letters of men of eminence, holding distinguished employments abroad, as well as those of a few eminent characters about the court, likely to be well informed of what was going on

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History, vol. 5 ap 18 & 200 = v. 1-2

around them. Among these are Robert Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury; Dudley Carleton; Viscount Dorchester; Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury; Henry, Earl of Northampton; William, Earl of Pembroke; Edward, Baron Wotton; Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset; George Calvert, Baron Baltimore; Viscount Andover; Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey; Sir Thomas and Sir Clement Edmondes; Sir Isaac Wake; Sir Henry Fanshawe; and Sir John Throckmorton. Having caused transcripts of these to be made from the originals, he had commenced preparing them for publication, when the task was interrupted by his death, and his papers were shortly afterwards transferred, by bequest, to the British Museum, where they still remain. Since then, several collections of historical letters have been published, in which a few of those in Dr. Birch's selections have appeared, but very rarely have they been given entire. In general, such collections have been printed as examples of style and language at different periods, or as in some way characteristic of the writer or illustrative of his career. However valuable these may be to the antiquary, they want, by their isolation, that interest which belongs to a consecutive series.

In the present instance, the communications of two or more contemporaneous writers read like so many different diaries; the lightest gossip of the court mingles with the important details of transactions of State; a piquant anecdote is contrasted with a grave conspiracy; and a momentous discussion in the House of Commons is relieved by an interesting recollection of Shakspeare's theatre, or a lively account of Ben Jonson's masque. By so many observers of various humours writing at

the same time, not only is the reader secure against any omission of facts it is desirable he should know, but he is presented with the minutest details of every transaction that transpired, at a period wonderfully fruitful in strange events.

As the reader proceeds, the character of James the First is unfolded, as it were, like a mummy from its cerecloth : as he turns over page after page, he becomes more familiar with the true form and features of that notable example of royalty ; till gradually the King is divested of those innumerable expedients that have been employed to preserve him to posterity in a becoming sarcophagus, and the man in all his offensive mortality is laid bare to the eye. But the reader may look for far more interesting spectacles in these volumes than the career of the British Solomon : for he may hold companionship with his estimable son Prince Henry, the worthiest example of regal heirship since the heroic Black Prince ; accompany his unfortunate yet true-hearted sister from her wooing by the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, to the end of her fruitless struggle for the Bohemian crown ; or share with another royal adventurer, her brother Prince Charles, the dangers of his romantic journey from England to make fruitless love to the Infanta of Spain. If incidents of a more touching character are likely to attract him, he will find ample materials for sympathy in the fatal marriage of the Lady Arabella, or the affecting tragedy of the gallant Raleigh. Should he seek scenes of more terrible interest, they are to be found in the ample details of the Gunpowder Plot, in the thrilling memorials of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder in the Tower, or in the mysterious trials in the

Star Chamber of Lady Roos, and Sir Thomas and Lady Lake.

But the reader who opens the book merely for amusement need not fear to find sufficient entertainment, if he can be attracted by the genuine illustrations of an eventful period in the history of his country—the period of Shakspeare, Bacon, Selden, and Camden: and not less eventful in the history of our liberties, as the period of the first struggles in a British Parliament against the encroachments of the Royal Prerogative. The attempts that were made and resolutely continued by the Commons, to withstand the sordid despotism of James, ought to be read by every Englishman with profound interest: since the forced signature of our Great Charter at Runnymede, no contest between the people and the crown had taken place in which their posterity could be so deeply concerned. Had the bold spirits who raised their voices in St. Stephen's Chapel, in behalf of the rights of the subject to his own property, allowed themselves to have been subdued by the Tower, and fine processes of which James so frequently availed himself, in his futile efforts at playing the absolute king, we might now want the best and greatest of those blessings which we enjoy under our present form of government. Too little attention has been paid to this portion of the contest; the latter part, with its more imposing proceedings and more passionate convulsions, has fixed and absorbed our observation: but, without intending in the slightest degree to take from its grandeur, we must remind the historical student that the immense machinery it brought into action, and the immense results it effected in the reign of the son,

would never have been called into existence but for the primary struggles of those who troubled the government of the father.

The reader cannot fail to be amused with the accounts here given of the varying conduct of James towards his Parliament: in one mood cajoling, in another menacing; now in a rage, fulminating its premature dissolution, and imprisoning and confiscating the property of whoever was daring enough to oppose his designs: in a few subsequent months calling the members together again, through the stern mandate of an empty exchequer, and finessing to obtain the assistance he wanted, before there could be any discussion of the people's grievances and the exactions of the crown. Then, how full he was of professions, how ample were his promises, how good his intentions! The Commons soon acquired an accurate appreciation of these, and wisely sought to procure some security for their performance, before they would put into his hands the means of continuing his misrule. For, as it will be seen, upon first coming to the throne, James had held out to them, under his paternal sway, the prospect of a perfect Arcadia, where neither monopoly, nor exaction, nor wrong, nor loss of any kind, should befall his people: nevertheless, in a few short years, the most injurious monopolies increased a hundredfold; forced loans were exacted from the merchants; ruinous fines were levied on the rich; commerce was paralyzed, trade ruined, and the poor plundered and wronged in every direction.

And the immense sums which he obtained in this way were lavished, with a childish profusion and a reckless carelessness, on a succession of favourites,

whose only claims on the royal favour were comprised in a fair face and a graceful form. In the course of the volumes, ample details will be met with respecting the careers of Hay, Montgomery, Rochester, Monson, Brett, and Buckingham—the lights of the male hareem that succeeded each other in the affections of this Christian Pacha. Their several histories are not without some instructive features; but the contemptible cowardice of Montgomery, the atrocious villany of Rochester, the insignificance of Monson and Brett, and the extravagant folly of Buckingham, reflect no small portion of their own discredit on their patron. Hay, Earl of Carlisle, alone seems to have attained a respectable position. He possessed in an eminent degree the prudence of which the others were deficient. On the approach of a rival whose superior attraction he dreaded, he solicited a diplomatic employment abroad, and in its duties put forth sufficient talent to entitle him to more distinction than can be allowed to a mere favourite. In short, it was the age of the Gavestones and the De Spencers revived, without that energy in public opinion that pursued these minions with so signal a punishment. But that energy was coming—and it came with a vengeance.

Besides the notices these letters convey to us of eminent legislators, they are scarcely less communicative respecting eminent lawyers, such as Coke, the Yelvertons, father and son, Sir Julius Cæsar, the Whitelockes, Coventry, Ley, and Heath; or in eminent prelates, the Archbishops Abbot, Williams, Usher, and Matthew, and the Bishops Bailey, Andrews, Godwyn, and many others; in eminent commanders, as Effingham, Hawkins, Willoughby d'Eresby, Marshal Wingfield; the Earls of

Danby, Oxford, and Leicester, Baron Carew, and Sir Francis and Sir Horatio Vere; or in eminent men of letters, as Ben Jonson, Carew, Wither, Daniel, Sir Henry Saville, Sir Robert Cotton, Dr. Donne, Hayward, Camden, and Bodley; in eminent travellers, as the brothers Shirley, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Thomas Glover, and Sir Paul Pindar; in short, of eminent characters in every rank and profession, both foreign and English, who were likely to come under the notice of diligent collectors of news. In this way, we learn that Ben Jonson had a narrow escape of knighthood, and Allen, the founder of Dulwich College, was sent with Inigo Jones to produce some theatrical entertainments for the amusement of the Spanish princess. Prince Charles was expected to bring home with him: that the monument erected to Owen, the epigrammatist, in St. Paul's, was employed for the publication of pasquinades in ridicule of the deceased poet's pretensions: and that Dr. Corbet so little pleased the King with the representation of his "Marriage of the Arts," that one of the University wits penned the following couplet—

"A marriage we had, but offering there was none,
Save that the king offered—once or twice to be gone."

There are hundreds of such references to be found in these volumes, interspersed with accounts of the transactions of the British embassies in France, Spain, the Low Countries, Venice, and Turin, and of the Privy Council and the Star Chamber; notices of the wars in Germany; the proceedings of the Huguenots in France, the Arminians in Holland, and the Puritans and Catholics in England; with anecdotes of the theatres, and descriptions of the Revels of the Inns of

Court, the Court Masques and entertainments, and the classical plays at the Universities; together with a running chronicle of the fortunes and misfortunes of almost every family of note in the kingdom.

We should be far exceeding the bounds allowed to such prefatory remarks, were we to venture upon a full analysis of this extensive correspondence. Yet a few words may be allowed to explain what has been done in preparing it for the press. Much unnecessary matter has been omitted, such as mere compliments, and other passages of no public interest. The innumerable references, the occasional obscurity of the text, the often illegible character, and puzzling orthography, have rendered the Editor's duties extremely laborious; and, though he has taken all possible pains to be correct in the illustrations he has appended, while studying that brevity which was imposed upon him by the bulk of his materials, it is with great diffidence he submits his volumes to the public. Some consolation is afforded him, by the knowledge that errors have been discovered in the productions of much more experienced scholars. His chief object has been to prepare the work for the general reader; who, it has been found, will readily dispense with any display of antiquarianism, or parade of historical scholarship, however valuable and interesting such may be to the more learned: nevertheless, the books to which he has been obliged to refer for his annotations comprise nearly all the works extant of any authority, illustrative of the Court and Times of James the First. But, whatever may be the impression of the Editor's performance of his task, he ventures to hope that he may be classed with those

writers who have endeavoured to popularize knowledge, for having rendered more accessible to a numerous class of students an important addition to the existing materials for a history of England in the early part of the seventeenth century.

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AMONG THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND CELEBRATED PERSONAGES OF
WHOM ANECDOTES AND PARTICULARS ARE GIVEN IN THIS
WORK, ARE THE FOLLOWING :—

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Berkshire, Earl of.	Chichester, Bishop of.
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Bohemia, Queen of.	Clanricard, Earl of.
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Borlase, Sir William.	Cobham, Lord.
Bouillon, Duke de.	Coke, Lord.
Bridgewater, Earl of.	Condé, Prince of.
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Deckham, Sir John.

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Denmark, King of.

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Digby, Sir Everard.

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Harrington, Lady.

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Hay, Lord.

Henry, Prince of Wales.

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Houghton, Lord.

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Howard, Sir Thomas.

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THE
COURT AND TIMES
OF
JAMES THE FIRST.

[The writer of the first letter in this collection was a gentleman and a scholar, who enjoyed the respect of some of the most eminent statesmen of this and the following reign. He was the intimate friend of Sir Dudley Carleton, to whom many of his letters are addressed, and, according to a respectable authority, accompanied that celebrated diplomatist in his embassy to the Venetian republic in the year 1610.¹ He did not long remain abroad, as he was in England in August, 1612. He was evidently well informed of what was going on in the world around him, and it is easy to believe that he had access to the best sources of information, yet it cannot be discovered that he ever held any greater employment than that of being included in the first commission for repairing St. Paul's. He was not in the second commission, dated the 10th of April, 1631, for which reason Dr. Chalmers² infers that he was then dead.]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, March 30, 1603.

I have not written since I received yours of the 8th of this present after your style,³ for we were held in suspense, and know not how nor what to write, the postages being stopt, and all conveyance so dangerous and suspicious.

¹ Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii., p. 213.

² Biographical Dictionary.

³ Two styles were employed, the old and the new—the latter being according to the Gregorian calendar, which was in general use on the continent. In England the old plan was persisted in.

I make no question but you have heard of our great loss¹ before this comes to you, and doubt but you shall hear her majesty's sickness and manner of death diversely related. For even here the Papists do tell strange stories, as utterly void of truth as of all civil honesty or humanity. I had good means to understand how the world went, and find her disease to be nothing but a settled and unremovable melancholy, insomuch that she could not be won or persuaded neither by the counsels, divines, physicians, nor the women about her, once to taste or touch any physic, though ten or twelve physicians that were continually about her did assure her with all manner of asseverations of perfect and easy recovery, if she would follow their advice. So that it cannot be said of her, as it was of the Emperor Hadrian, that *turba medicorum occidit regem*; for they say she died only for lack of physic. There was some whispering that her brain was somewhat distempered,² but there was no such matter; only she held an obstinate silence for the most part, and because she had a persuasion that if she once lay down she should never rise, could not be gotten to bed in a whole week till three days before her death. So that, after three weeks languishing, she departed the 24th of this present, being our Lady's Eve, between two and three in the morning, as she was born on our Lady's Eve in September; and as one Lee³ was mayor of London when she came to her crown, so is there one Lee⁴ mayor now that she left it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the almoner, and other her chaplains and divines, had access to her in her sickness divers times, to whom she gave good testimony of her faith by word, but specially towards her end by signs, when she was speechless, and would not suffer the archbishop to depart as long as she had sense, but held him twice or thrice when he was going, and could no longer endure, both by reason of his own weakness and compassion of hers. She made no will, nor gave any

¹ The death of Queen Elizabeth.

² This has been attributed to the crafty Cecil. All the particulars of the queen's death will be found narrated by Dr. Lingard, in his History of England, vol. viii., p. 395, edition 1844.

³ Sir Thomas Lee, or Leigh, son of Roger Lee, of Wellington, in Shropshire.

⁴ Sir Robert Lee, son of Humphrey Lee, of Bridgenorth, in Shropshire.

thing away, so that they which come after shall find a well-furnished house, a rich wardrobe of more than two thousand gowns, with all things else answerable.

The nobility and council came from Richmond that evening, and before ten o'clock had proclaimed King James at Whitehall, Temple Bar, and so forward in Cheapside and other places. Sir Robert Carey¹ was the first that of his own motion carried the news of her death into Scotland. The next day the lords sent Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset, with the proclamation and letters, to the king, and yesterday Mr. Carew, a master in Chancery, and Mr. Lake, were despatched about other business. There is much posting that way, and many run thither of their own errands, as if it were nothing else but first come first served, or that preferment were a goal to be got by footmanship, among whom Neville,² that pretends to be Lord Latimer, and Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Harry Bromley, Sir Thomas Challoner, John Davis,³ the poet, and Pearson, [Peyton] the lieutenant's son of the Tower, hope to be with the foremost. We attend him⁴ [King James] with great devotion, and begin to think long till we have him. The lords have sent to know his pleasure, whether he will come by land or sea; for which purpose there be eight or ten ships ready that were going for the coast of Spain, but do now tarry to keep the Northern Seas.

Surely the council dealt very providently, and beyond that was to be expected or hoped for in so sudden an accident, and no doubt God did direct them, seeing all things past so quietly and in good order. During the queen's sickness, some principal papists were made sure, and some dangerous companions clapt up, among whom Sir Edmund Bainham was committed to the Marshalsea

¹ Fourth son of Henry, first Baron Hunsdon, K.G., one of the numerous celebrities of the court of Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was related. Sir Robert was also a favourite of hers, but was most distinguished by her successor, who gave him several employments, and towards the close of his reign created him Baron Carey of Leppington and Earl of Monmouth. For much interesting illustration of this period, see his auto-biography, edited by the Earl of Cork.

² Edward Neville, who in the first year of King James had the title of Baron Abergavenny confirmed to him; but his claim to the title of Westmoreland, made the year following, was determined against him.

³ The author of "Nosce teipsum." See a Letter of Sir Francis Bacon to him on his going to Scotland. The reader will learn more of him hereafter.

⁴ i.e., Wait his coming.

for some desperate speeches, they say, against the king. But it should seem there was no great matter, for I hear he is now at liberty again. There was a rumour two days since that the Lord Beauchamp¹ stood out and gathered forces; but it was a false alarm, for word is come since that his father was one of the foremost in his country to proclaim the king.

The council went on Saturday to Richmond, and that night late brought the corpse with an honourable attendance to Whitehall, where the household remains. The body was not opened, but wrapped up in searcloths and other preservatives. Sir Henry Davers² was despatched on Sunday to carry the proclamation into Ireland, whence we have heard nothing a good while.

Your old friend and acquaintance, Dr. D'Oylie,³ died about a fortnight since, and Sir Henry Killigrew⁴ much about the same time. Archibald Douglas the Scot, that had been a dealer and juggler on both sides, died here, likewise, in a good hour, before he was afraid. The Lord Chandos,⁵ that had secretly married the Lady Strange,⁶ and young Egerton,⁷ the Lady Frances, her sister, do now publish their marriage, and make no more dainty.

We hear the archduke [Albert] hath great store of men, shipping, and allies, at Sluys; and because it is known that Spinola⁸ hath been covertly in Zealand, and taken view and measure of their dykes, it is supposed that he hath some design to cut their sea-wall, and drown the whole island. The Dunkirkers have been very busy with us of late, and between Queenborough and Leigh took three pinks coming from

¹ Edward, eldest son of Edward Earl of Hertford. The latter died in April, 1621; Lord Beauchamp in August, 1618. He might have claimed the crown, as being the son of Lady Catharine Gray, and was mentioned to the dying queen as one of the candidates for the succession; at which she indignantly replied, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat;" his father having offended her by his marriage.

² Danvers, an eminent commander both by sea and land; on the 27th of July, 1603, created Baron Danvers of Dantsey, and on the 5th of February, 1626, Earl of Danby. He was also made K.G.

³ Thomas D'Oylie, who had been probationary fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and took the degree of doctor of physic at Basil. He was an eminent physician.

⁴ He had held some diplomatic employments in the last reign.

⁵ Grey Bridges, fifth baron, K.B.; from the magnificent style in which he lived at his mansion in Gloucestershire, called "King of Cotswould." He died on the 10th of August, 1621.

⁶ Ann, eldest daughter and coheir of Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby.

⁷ Sir John Egerton.

⁸ The Marquis Ambrose Spinola, a commander of the highest reputation.

Flushing, whereof one was better worth than ten thousand pounds. We hear that the King of Denmark's brother, that married the Muscovite's daughter the last year, is dead, whereof our merchants are nothing sorry. The King of Denmark is daily looked for in Scotland, and if he come before the king get there, it's thought he will come along with him.

The Lord Cobham is even now taking post to go towards the king, and do his wonted good offices. But the Lords do so little like his going, that I think his errand will be there before him, or soon overtake him.¹

This alteration hath recalled Mr. Winwood's² employment till the king's coming, or some commission from him.

I know not whether you have seen the king's book³ before, but I send it at all adventures, for it is new here. The other book⁴ will serve when you have leisure to laugh, for, both in the matter and manner of setting it down, you shall find pretty knavery.

[The person to whom the foregoing and several of the letters in this collection were written, subsequently attained high honours and considerable celebrity. He was the second son of Anthony Carleton, Esq., of Baldwin-Brightwell, near Wallington, in Oxfordshire, where he was born on the 10th of March, 1572-3, and after a course of instruction at Westminster school, became a student of Christ Church, and had for his tutor Mr. John King, afterwards Dean of Christ College, and Bishop of London. He took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1695, and that of master five years later, in which interval he enjoyed the opportunity of further improving himself by foreign travel, and in 1602 accompanied Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador

¹ Brooke, Lord Cobham. "The Lords" were his personal enemies, and they so contrived to prejudice the mind of the king against him and his friends—the most eminent of whom was Sir Walter Raleigh—that his lordship had such a reception as completely disgusted him with the new sovereign.

² Afterwards Sir Ralph Winwood, who was employed by James in several embassies, and appointed secretary of state from 1614 to his death, in 1617. The well known "Memorials of Affairs of State," published in 1725 by Mr. Sawyer, were compiled from his papers.

³ The Basilicon Doron, or his majesty's instructions to his dearest son the prince.

⁴ The name of this work has not been preserved.

1595

to the court of France, as secretary, where he must have been at the date of this letter. He belonged to the first parliament of King James for the borough of St. Ives, in Cornwall. He was also secretary to the Earl of Northumberland, which a few years later had nearly been the cause of bringing his promising career to a very unsatisfactory termination; for when detained in France by the illness of Lord Norris, with whom he had made a tour through Spain, he was summoned to England by the lords of the council, at the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot; and on suspicion of his having been implicated in it from his connexion with his former patron, the Earl of Northumberland, he was placed in confinement, but, on clearing himself, was liberated. This suspicion, however, for some time acted unfavourably on his fortunes, till the year 1610, when he was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Wotton in the embassy at Venice; the honour of knighthood was then conferred upon him; but he was soon afterwards appointed ambassador to the States-General, where he remained from 1616 to 1628,¹ with an interval of one year, 1625, when he was joined with the Earl of Holland, as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, to excuse the king's abrupt dismissal of Henrietta Maria's French attendants. But this part of his history belongs to the reign of Charles, whose confidence and favour he enjoyed in a very high degree.]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, April 12, 1603.

Since my last, of the 30th of March, all things continue here in the same quiet course, only here was a proclamation to retain the council and all other officers in their old places, and to restrain the concourse of idle and unnecessary posters into Scotland, the number whereof grew to be a great burden to the country, and brought all things out of order. The Lord Henry Howard² was sent thither to possess

¹ His correspondence during five years of this period was privately printed by Lord Royston, in the year 1757.

² Second son of the Earl of Surrey.

the king's ear, and countermine the Lord Cobham. Your old friend, Tobie Matthew, was sent with a letter from Mr. Bacon,¹ but I doubt neither the message nor messenger were greatly welcome.

The king uses all very graciously, and hath made Sir Robert Carey, of his bed-chamber, a groom of the stole; John Davis is sworn his man, and Neville restored (as he writes himself) to all his titles and fortunes.

The 10th of this month the Earl of Southampton and Sir Henry Neville² were delivered out of the Tower by a warrant from the king. These bountiful beginnings raise all men's spirits, and put them in great hopes, insomuch that not only Protestants, but Papists, and Puritans, and the very poets, with their idle pamphlets, promise themselves great part in his favour, so that to satisfy or please all, *hic labor, hoc opus est*, and would be more than a man's work. The last that were sent were Sir Harry Neville and Sir Harry Lennard, with five thousand pounds in gold, and one in silver, saving your cousin and Momtpesson, that carried him six geldings, and a coach with four horses, and other officers, that are daily sent away to provide and execute their charge. Here have come divers from the king, as Roger Aston, Foulis, Hamilton, and now last, one Bruce,³ whom they call Lord, or Abbot of Kinloss, and is thought shall be incorporated into our council.

We have no certainty where the king is. They that come last say he appointed to be at Berwick the 7th of this month, and think he is now on the way to York, where he will make no long stay, but come to Worksop, a house of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, so to Beauvoir Castle, thence to Burghley, thence to Oliver Cromwell's⁴ by Huntingdon, to Sir Thomas Sadler's in Hertfordshire, to Hertford Castle, to Theobalds, to the Charter House, or Howard House, and so to the Tower till his coronation. I cannot hear that the queen or any of the princes come with him; only they talk of the Duke of Lenox, two marquises, the Earl of

¹ Sir Francis Bacon, the eminent philosopher, lawyer, and statesman; destined so soon to attain the highest distinction; so soon, alas! to be followed by the most complete disgrace.

² They had been concerned in Essex's plot.

³ Edward Bruce, Baron Kinloss, ancestor of the present Earl of Elgin. James made him a member of his privy council, and master of the rolls.

⁴ At Hinchinbrooke.

Mar, whose brother, Sir Thomas Erskine, they say is made captain of the guard, and two hundred other nobles and gentles. Though you had no greater business, yet, methinks, you might make an errand to see these sights, for here will be arches and pageants great plenty.

The queen's funeral is appointed the 28th of this present, with as much solemnity as hath been used to any former prince, and that by the king's own directions. It shall be kept at Westminster, and the Lady Arabella¹ is to be chief mourner, accompanied with two marquises, sixteen countesses, and thirty barristers, with all their train, besides the greatest part of the nobility, all the council and officers of the household.

Sir George Carew,² President of Munster, came out of Ireland a fortnight since, and yesterday came Sir Oliver St. John,³ with news that Tyrone hath yielded, and submitted himself to the lord deputy, who hath brought him to Dublin. So that it appeareth the queen's good fortune followed her after her death, for they had no notice of it when he came away, the winds having been so contrary, that none could get over.

Here is a common bruit that the Earl of Clanrickard⁴ hath married the lady of Essex,⁵ wherewith many that wish her well are nothing pleased; and the speech goes that the king hath taken order, and sent her word, that her son shall be brought up with the young prince. I had almost forgotten that young Peyton is the first and only knight the king hath yet made of our countrymen.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

July 10, 1603.

Mr. Winwood was married on Tuesday,⁶ with much thunder and lightning and rain. The ominous weather,

¹ Arabella Stuart, whose relationship to the deceased her successor made a source of so much misery to her.

² Raised to the peerage, in 1605, by the title of Baron Carew, of Clopton, in Warwickshire, and created Earl of Totness by Charles I.

³ Baronet of Lydiard Tregoze and Viscount Grandison. He was lord deputy in Ireland, and in 1626 was raised to the English peerage by the title of Baron Tregoze of Heggworth. He died in 1629.

⁴ Richard de Burgh, afterwards created Baron Somerhill, Viscount Tunbridge, and Earl of St. Albans. He died in 1636.

⁵ Daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sydney, and of the famous Earl of Essex. Her son, by the Earl of Essex, was Robert Devereux, the parliamentary general.

⁶ July 5.

and dismal day put together, might have made a superstitious man startled, but he turned all to the best, and so may it prove. There was nobody at the wedding but myself and Mr. Serle. I hear he went away¹ yesterday, with bag and baggage, and by this time is embarked at Gravesend, for, by good hap, he met with a ship that will deliver him at Rotterdam, which will save him a great deal of trouble and cost, and me a journey which I avoided by that means, and the bringing them to Gravesend by this foul weather. I parted with him on Thursday, in Paul's, and one of his greatest regrets was that he should not see you before he went.

I thank you for your letter by our James. Here is nothing in the world to requite you, unless, peradventure, you have not heard of a ship of Alderman Halmeden's fired by mischief, at Blackwall, the day you went hence, and came driving up the tide to Greenwich, and there set an outhouse or twain on fire, and put the whole town in danger. Paul's² grows very thin, for every man shrinks away, and I am half ashamed to see myself left alone.

Our pageants are pretty forward, but most of them are such small timbered gentlemen that they cannot last long, and I doubt, if the plague cease not the sooner, they will riot and sink where they stand.

Lord Cecil³ to Sir Thomas Parry.⁴

Hampton Court, August 4, 1603.

It is very true that when there was cause to stop the passages, there was not conveniences of writing unto you; for some traitors being fled, and proclamation made for them, it was held fit to prevent their escape. Since which time it hath pleased God to deliver most of them into his majesty's hands, whereof, because you may know the truth, and no more, you shall understand that it is of this

¹ For Holland, whither he was sent as Resident with the States-General.

² The aisles of St. Paul's were the chief rendezvous of newsmongers and idlers.

³ Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, and afterwards lord treasurer. James I. created him Baron Cecil in 1603, Viscount Cranbourne in 1604, and Earl of Salisbury the following year.

⁴ Ambassador in France. He was an eminent diplomatist, and was much in the confidence of the crafty Cecil.

nature. Sir Griffin Markham and Mr. George Brooke, brother to the Lord Cobham,¹ having dealt with the king in former time to profess their affection towards him, finding some of their own hopes deceived, fell into discontentment against the king, and most of the nobility that were counsellors about him; and, observing in the Lord Gray² some like malcontented humour (only in some such like respects), they began to project a course of alteration of this estate; hoping, if they could have, with some convenient number, possessed the person of the king, that they might then, by his authority, have raised themselves to what places they would, by removing those that presently possessed them. In which here was speech, that the Lord Gray should be earl marshal, Markham to be secretary, Brooke to be lord treasurer of England, Watson, the priest, to be lord chancellor.³ And, in case there should have been resistance made against them, they had provided a party to have gone to the court in the night. Forasmuch as now these men should hardly have been able to have drawn such a company together to second their passions, one of them, being a papist, undertook by Watson and Clerke, two priests, to draw in some Catholics to assent to deliver a petition to the king for toleration of religion, but so well provided as the king should not have thought himself in safety to deny them.

Of this treacherous and vain project, amongst them many disputations and arguments have passed; not any of them mistaking the purpose, but reasoning the probabilities to effect it. By which means the matter was the worse digested, and so the day assigned came upon them faster than their councils could agree for the orderly execution, which falling out to be the 24th of June, the Lord Gray, jealous lest the principal number, compounded of Catholics, might overrule him and his followers, in the surprise, which were intended by him to be of the religion now professed, he made objection to Markham, that he esteemed so much

¹ Henry Brooke, Baron Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports in the reign of Elizabeth. Cecil was also related to Lord Cobham, having married his sister Elizabeth, which may serve as a key to the forthcoming mystery.

² Sir Thomas Grey, fifteenth baron.

³ The absurdity of this idea has been pointed out by Dr. Lingard. *Hist. Eng.*, vol. ix., p. 10, Note *.

that point, as he was loth to join with him, but rather wished some suspension of it, till his party might be better secured; which he thought should be, if the king should aid the States of the Low Countries, and he obtain the commandment of new forces to be levied; under colour of which levy here about London, he hoped the better to have disguised the gathering together of such numbers. And thus, with all their irresolutions, the day was put off, and new fears distracted them, which arrived not only from the difficulty to surprise the court, wherein there never sleepeth under 300 gentlemen that carry arms, but because we, having some secret notice of conventicles for some such purpose, began to set better order of doors and passages; of which proceeding they took an alarm. Nevertheless, they gave not over their imaginations, conferences, nor designs, until one Copley, a principal conspirator, was taken: whom Markham and Brooke knew would accuse them. Upon his taking, Markham came to Mr. Brooke to procure him means to escape, by his brother's authority, who, notwithstanding he understood for what cause it was, did assent to convey him over, and gave him some money for his journey; although Markham, upon other consideration, took another way of flight, until he was apprehended. Since which all hath been confessed by themselves under their hands.

And now, because I doubt not but you may have heard also of other matters, and therein peradventure much hath been multiplied, you shall understand, that although the Lord Cobham was no particular actor nor contriver of this conspiracy, yet he had another iron in the fire, which, in general terms, he let fall to his brother and some others, though he used them not particularly in this project, no more than they had done him in theirs; always this being common to them all, that if one sped not, another might,¹ so far had God blinded their eyes, when the king had no way wronged any of these by taking from them any matter of profit or credit, which ever they enjoyed. But it was not enough not to take away, because he did not suddenly

¹ These two plots were distinguished by the names of "the Bye," or the "Surprise," and "the Main."

give what they desired. To be short, therefore, the Lord Cobham meant to go over to the Spa, thereby to have had access to the archduke, to whom he meant to have intimated his discontentment, and withal to have represented the general disposition of others in this country on whom he would have pretended that good sums of money would have taken great hold. From thence he should have gone into Spain, and there have seen what the king would have embraced; and, at his return, he would have passed to Jersey, where Sir Walter Raleigh would have met him, and so have conferred together what course to take for advancement of those intentions which his overtures should have begot; leaving it not altogether hopeless, but that some of these surprises, or some other accident in the mean time, might have happened to have saved his labour; always, if no such thing had followed in the interim, such sums of money as he could have procured the King of Spain to disburse, should have been employed *selon l'occasion*.

If now you will ask whether the Count of Aremberg¹ had any hand in this matter, I must answer you truly, that the Lord Cobham privily resorted to him; first, to confirm former intelligence concerning the peace; and, as an argument to prepare him to believe him, if he offered any greater services, he stuck not to advertise him daily how things passed at court, with as many particulars as he could come by; what success the States had at the king's hands, or were like to have. And not three days before his commitment, he wrote to the count, in general terms, that, if he would do his master service, he should not be inveigled with conceit of peace: for, though the king had a good disposition to it, yet most of the principal counsellors were obstinate for the war; concluding, that if the count would procure 4 or 500,000 crowns to be disposed, as he would, he could show him a better way to prosper than by peace. To which letter, before the count could make any direct answer, the Lord Cobham was apprehended. And therefore, when you shall speak with the king,² you may assure him that, whatsoever is advertised,

¹ Ambassador from the Court of Spain.

² The King of France, at whose court Sir Thomas Parry was resident.

more or less of those things is false; only the first conspirators had likewise resolved to carry the king to the Tower, to have forced him to a proclamation to justify their actions, with divers such pretences usual in such cases.

Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh's commitment, this hath been the ground. First, he hath been discontented *in conspectu omnium*, ever since the king came; and yet, for those offices which are taken from him, the king gave him £300 a-year during his life, and forgave him a good arrearage of debt.¹ Secondly, his inwardness, or rather his governing the Lord Cobham's spirit, made great suspicion that in these treasons he had his part. Whereupon, being sent for before four or five of the council, and asked of some particulars, before he was sent to prison, he wrote a letter secretly to the Lord Cobham, advising him, if he were examined of anything, to stand peremptory, and not to be afraid; for one witness could not condemn him. After which, the Lord Cobham being called in question, he did first confess his own treasons as abovesaid; and then did absolutely, before eleven councillors, accuse Raleigh to be privy to his Spanish course, with farther addition and exclamation, that he had never dealt herein but by his own incessant provocation. Whereupon he [Raleigh] was committed to the Tower, where, though he was used with all humanity, lodged and attended as well as in his own house; yet one afternoon, whilst divers of us were in the Tower examining some of these prisoners, he attempted to have murdered himself. Whereof, when we were advertised, we came to him, and found him in some agony, seeming to be unable to endure his misfortunes, and protesting innocency with carelessness of life; and, in that humour, he had wounded himself under the right pap, but no way mortally, being, in truth, rather a cut than a stab, and now very well cured, both in body and mind.² What

¹ The king's generosity to him will appear presently.

² This futile attempt at suicide is scarcely credible, nor is Raleigh's assumed connection in this plot much more so. It should be borne in mind that the writer of this communication was an unscrupulous enemy of his distinguished rival, whom he had been indefatigably attempting to ruin since the arrival of the new king. On this point, the reader should refer to the Appendix of Mr. Tytler's "Life of Raleigh," p. 438.

to judge of this case yet, we know not; for how voluntarily and authentically soever the Lord Cobham did, before us all, accuse him in all our hearing and most constantly; yet, being newly examined, he seemeth now to clear Sir Walter in most things, and to take all the burthen to himself; so as the matter concerning the blood of a gentleman, how apparent soever it is *in foro conscientia*, yet you may be assured, that no severity shall be used towards him, for which there shall not be sufficient proof; which is very like there will be, notwithstanding this retractation, because it is confessed that since their being in the Tower, intelligence hath passed from one to another, wherein Raleigh expostulated his unkind using him.

Lord Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry.

From the Court at Wilton, this 1st December, 1603.

It is not unlikely but many reports will be made, according to the diversity of men's humours, of the course of the proceedings about the prisoners; of which I have heretofore summarily written unto you; and therefore, because you may know what is true and what is false, I have thought good particularly to relate this much unto you.

The 15th of this month were publicly arraigned at Winchester Castle, Mr. George Brooke, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brookesby, and Anthony Copley, esquires; William Watson and William Clerke, priests. They were all convicted by their own confessions, and found guilty of high treason, for having practised to surprise his majesty's person with the court, and as many councillors as they could find about him; besides to have taken the Tower of London, or the Castle of Dover, and to have conveyed the king thither, under pretence of safety; and then to have persuaded him to assent to these three points; first, to a general pardon for all those that were interested in the surprise; secondly, to grant a toleration of popish religion; and, thirdly, to alter divers principal officers of state, in whose places they had already designed some of their complices. * * * * *

They also intended, after the king should have been brought to the Tower, to have sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and to have imprisoned them in case they should have showed the least dissent of these proceedings.

This was the general project agreed upon among themselves, in the executing whereof it was found, that there were great varieties of opinions; some imagining 300 men to suffice for this design; some more, some less; and it was confessed that Watson fed the rest with an assurance, if any resistance should be made against them, that he was able to bring forth great numbers amongst the papists, his friends and acquaintance.

At their arraignment, after the principal points were debated, and most of them proved at the bar, all joining in exclamation upon the priests, and especially upon Watson, as the first contriver and mover of it, wherein how perversely he hath carried himself, you may easily judge by this sequel. After that, by means of Mr. Brooke and Markham, the Lord Gray was drawn into this plot; being of a contrary religion to these priests, they made cunningly this use of that poor nobleman, and gave out, to draw the greater number of papists unto them, that the Lord Gray, with the Puritans, having a purpose to surprise the king, it was now time for the Catholics to stand with the king, and to rescue him, if any such attempt should be offered; not doubting but by this their good merit towards the king, to obtain toleration of their religion. To this purpose, they exhorted them to be in readiness, and to draw up towards the court, exacting an oath of them to be secret. Under this pretence, the priests had drawn sundry gentlemen of the party, and no doubt had put the state to great hazard if their practice had not been in time discovered.

Sir Edward Parham being arraigned among the rest, was quitted by the jury, because the evidences brought in against him seemed not so strong as against the rest that had been the first plotters and misleaders of others. What will become of them now, that they stand in his majesty's mercy, I cannot yet advertise you; but that order was

given yesterday that both the priests should be executed at Winchester.

Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, he was brought to his trial the 17th day, at the place aforesaid. He was indicted for joining with the Lord Cobham in entertaining of another practice, to dispossess his majesty and his royal issue of this crown, and to have set up the Lady Arabella Stuart. For better accomplishing whereof, it was said they intended to have craved the assistance of the King of Spain, and the Archduke Albert for borrowing of five or 600,000 crowns, to be bestowed here upon discontented persons, and such as should otherwise seem fit to be entertained for this purpose. And the Lord Cobham took upon him the rather to induce the King of Spain to the loan of this money (under colour of a licence, which he had obtained of the king, to travel beyond the seas), to have gone personally to the archduke, and into Spain to the king, and to have procured letters from the Lady Arabella unto them both, and to the Duke of Savoy; by which she should have promised, first, to publish a perfect peace and confederacy with them; next, to grant a toleration of Popish religion; and, thirdly, to promise not to marry herself but with the consent and good liking of them three.

Furthermore, Sir Walter was accused to have dealt with the Lord Cobham for an invasion to be made in England from Spain: all which accusations Sir Walter Raleigh diffidently denied, and did as much as wit of man could advise to clear himself. Yet the accusation of the Lord Cobham being of that nature, as it implied the accusing of his own self withal, (than which kind of proof the law regardeth none greater) he was found guilty of treason upon that accusation, with other circumstances precedent and subsequent. For, although the Lord Cobham did retract his former accusation, yet that was upon intelligence in the Tower betwixt him and Sir Walter Raleigh, who got a letter for testimony of his own innocency under the Lord Cobham's hand,¹ which would have swayed the jury

¹ The following passage from this communication ought to have satisfied any jury of Raleigh's innocence:—"To free myself from the cry of blood," wrote Lord

much, if the Lord Cobham had not, the night before Sir Walter's arraignment, laid open how Sir Walter practised for that letter by one Harvey, a son of the now lieutenant, accusing him freshly of being an instigator of him to deal with the Count Aremberg for a pension of £1500 a-year only to be a spy for Spain, if the peace went not forward. Which, when Sir Walter heard, notwithstanding many of his former denials, that he never knew the Lord Cobham Spanishly affected in any thing, he had no other evasion, but confessed at the bar, that the Lord Cobham indeed moved that to him, but not he to the Lord Cobham.

You shall also understand that, at the first beginning, before ever the Lord Cobham was suspected, Sir Walter, having been examined only about himself, immediately wrote a letter to the Lord Cobham, that he had been examined upon him; and that he had cleared him to the Lords, wishing him to be wary; if he were examined, to remember that one witness could not overthrow him: which being done before ever Lord Cobham was called in question, and being added to the accusation of the Lord Cobham, was argument that Raleigh's denials of other things were also false. Besides, it may be remembered, upon Raleigh's first commitment to the Tower, how suspiciously he carried himself in offering to stab himself with a knife, as heretofore you have heard.¹

The Friday after the Lord Cobham was arraigned before thirty-one of the peers, the lord chancellor sitting as high steward. He denied then, that Raleigh was privy to his purpose to go into Spain; and, for the matter of money to be gotten for discontented persons, he confessed it was a conceit of his own thoughts, never communicated to any, but died in him almost as soon as it was harboured in his mind, though he did reveal it to the lords of the council, when they examined him about other matters. Concerning the setting up of the Lady Arabella, he fastened it

Cobham, "I protest before my soul, and before God and his angels, I never had conference with you in any treason; nor was ever moved by you to the things I heretofore accused you of; and, for anything I know, you are as innocent and clear from any treasons against the king as any subject living. And God so deal with me, and have mercy on my soul, as this is true."

¹ There is nothing in these inferences upon which to condemn Raleigh.

upon his brother, George Brooke. And for Sir Walter Raleigh, though he confessed that in many things he had done him wrong, yet he maintained still the pension sought for by him: and withal that Sir Walter moved to solicit Aremberg to persuade the King of Spain to send an army into Milford Haven.¹ For, being privy to the undutiful speeches of the king, wherewith he was also charged, as namely, that it would never be well in England, till the king and his cubs, meaning his royal issue, were taken away; he took damnation upon him if ever he thought such a matter.

The next day, the Lord Gray was arraigned, and convicted, for assenting and being an actor in the priests' treason. He was drawn in at first by Mr. Brooke and Markham, not knowing that the priests and so many papists were engaged in the action; whereof afterwards, when he had knowledge, he thought to sever himself from the party, by dissuading the execution of the project till some fitter time; wherein his own reasons were, that he would be loth to join with a Catholic party, until he had a good number of his, in case they should, after they had made use of him, offer him any injury; and so he stands condemned.

There remaineth now, that I do resolve you of some doubts, which you might conceive, concerning Lady Arabella, Count Aremberg, and other persons named in the Lord Cobham's and Sir Walter Raleigh's indictment, how far they are to be touched with it or not. And, therefore, you shall understand, that, as that practice was discovered in the very infancy of it, before it was either put in action or imparted to any; so for the Lady Arabella, the Archduke, and the King of Spain, they were merely ignorant of any such thing, which those men had but conceived in their minds, and discoursed of among themselves. But for the Count of Aremberg, with whom the Lord Cobham had had private meetings and intercourse of letters, it was always pretended to him, howsoever it might be intended by the Lord Cobham to be for the advancement of the peace,

¹ Sir Walter, throughout his gallant career, had shown himself extremely hostile to Spain—the idea of his selecting this power to draw into an invasion of England is repugnant.

and that the money which the Count was contented to promise should be bestowed only for gaining of friends to stand for the treaty, without any further reference.

Thus have you now the particulars at large of these proceedings, of which you may make such use for his majesty's service as you shall think convenient in your own discretion, delivering the particulars as there shall be cause, but not as a copy of my letter.¹

[The trial of Raleigh was one of the most disgraceful of the many disgraceful acts of this reign; and the manner in which the accused was bullied by the attorney-general Coke has ever been a blot on the character of that eminent lawyer. The subsequent proceedings were not much more dignified. Dudley Carleton was present at both trial and execution; and though he wrote as became a courtier looking for preferment, he seems not to have been quite insensible to the true complexion of the case.]

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Winchester, November 27, 1603.

I was not present at the first or second arraignment, wherein Brook, Markham, Brooksby, Copley, and the two priests were condemned, for practising the surprise of the king's person, the taking of the Tower, the deposing of councillors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands, as declarations; and compiled with such labour and care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves. Parham was acquitted, being only drawn in by the priests as an assistant, without knowing the purpose; yet had he gone the same way as the rest, (as it is thought) save for a word the Lord Cecil cast in the way, as his cause was in handling, that the king's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent as condemning the guilty.

The commissioners for the trial were, the Lord Cham-

¹ In this last direction to the ambassador, Cecil's craft is very apparent.

berlain, Lord of Devon, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, the Vice-Chamberlain, the two Chief Justices, Justice Gawdy, and Warburton. Of the king's counsel, none were employed in that, or the arraignment, but the attorney, [Coke] Heale, and Philips; and in effect none but the attorney. Sir Walter Raleigh served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. His cause was disjoined from the priests, as being a practice only between himself and the Lord Cobham, to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raised rebellion in the realm, by fastening money upon the discontented, to have set up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions; as to have a perpetual peace with Spain; not to have bestowed herself in marriage, but at the direction of the Spaniard; and to have granted liberty of religion. The evidence against him was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Raleigh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them; which served to turn against him; though he showed to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted.

After sentence given, his request was, to have his answers [to the charges that had been brought against him] related to the king, and pardon begged: of which, if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage, and judgment, that, save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name, half hanged, in the opinion of all men he had been acquitted.

The two first that brought the news to the king were Roger Ashton, and a Scotchman, whereof one affirmed that never any man spake so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come: and the other said, that whereas, when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him

hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life. In one word, never was a man so hated and so popular, in so short a time.

It was thought the lords should have been arraigned on Tuesday last, but they were put off till Friday and Saturday, and had their trials apart before the lord chancellor [Ellesmere] as lord steward for both those days, eleven earls, nineteen barons. The Duke,¹ the Earl of Mar, and many Scottish lords stood as spectators; and of our ladies, the greatest part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady of Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella, who heard herself much spoken of these days. But the arraignment before, she was more particularly remembered, as by Sir Walter Raleigh, for a woman with whom he had no acquaintance, and one whom of all that he ever saw he never liked; and by Sergeant Hale, as one that had no more right to the crown than himself; and for any claim that he had to it, he utterly disavowed it. Cobham led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting day's piece of work of it, that he discredited the place to which he was called: never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it, by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted; so as, by his fashion, it was known, ere he spake, what he would confess or deny. In his first answer, he said he had changed his mind since he came to the bar; for, whereas he came with an intention to have made his confession, without denying anything, now seeing many things inserted in this indictment with which he could not be charged, being not able in one word to make distinction of many parts, he must plead to all, *not guilty*. For anything that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he denied the whole accusation; only said, she had sought his friendship, and his brother, Brooke, had sought hers. For the other purposes, he said, he had hammered in his brains some such imaginations; but never had purpose to bring them to effect. Upon Raleigh, he exclaimed as one who had stirred him up to discontent, and thereby overthrown his fortunes. Against him,

¹ Of Lennox, then the only noble in the peerage of that rank.

he said, that he once propounded to him a means for the Spaniard to invade England, which was, to bring down an army to the Groyne,¹ under pretence to send them into the Low Countries, and land them at Milford Haven: that he had made himself a pensioner to Spain for 1500 crowns by the year, to give intelligence; and, for an earnest of his diligence, had already related to the Count D'Aremberg the particularities of what passed in the State's audiences at Greenwich.

His brother's confession was read against him, wherein he accused him of a contract made with Aremberg for 500,000 crowns, to bestow amongst the discontents, whereof Raleigh was to have had 10,000, Grey as much, and Brooke, 1000; the rest, as they should find fit men to bestow it on. He excepted against his brother, as an incompetent accuser, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpose) the getting of his wife's sister with child; in which it is thought he did young Coppinger some wrong.

A letter was produced, which he wrote to Aremberg for so much money; and Aremberg's answer, consenting for the furnishing of that sum. He then flew to his former retreat, that in this likewise he had no ill meaning, and excused Aremberg as one that meant only thereby to further the peace. When particularities were farther urged, that in his intended travel he meant to have gone into the Low Countries to the Archduke; from thence into Savoy, so into Spain, then have returned by Jersey, and there to have met Raleigh, and to have brought some money from the well-spring, where it was to be had, he confessed imaginations, but no purposes; and still laid the fault upon his own weaknesses, in that he suffered himself to be misled by Raleigh. Being asked of his two letters to different purpose, the one excusing, the other condemning Raleigh, he said, the last was true, but the other was drawn from him by device in the Tower, by young Harvey, the lieutenant's son, whom Raleigh had corrupted, and carried intelligence betwixt them (for which he is there committed, and is likely to be arraigned

¹ Corunna.

at the King's Bench). Having thus accused all his friends, and so little excused himself, the peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and, after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour, alleging his confession as a meritorious act. Grey, quite in another key, began with great assurances and alacrity; spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the lords, and then to the judges, and lastly to the king's counsel, and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and scapes; but the evidence was too perspicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with "the surprise;" yet the lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard censure against him. For, though he had some heavy enemies, as his old antagonist, who was mute before his face; but spake within very unnobly against him; yet most of them strove with themselves, and would fain (as it seemed) have dispensed with their consciences to have shewed him favour. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the lords, and the demand whether he had anything to say, why sentence of death should not be given against him, these only were his words—"I have nothing to say," there he paused long—"and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind. *Non eadem omnibus decora*—the house of the Wiltons had spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. God send the king a long and prosperous reign, and to your lordships all honour."

After sentence given, he only desired to have one Travers,¹ a divine, sent for to come to him, if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was great compassion had of this gallant young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials. Yet the lord steward condemned his manner, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the judges liked him as little, because he disputed with them against the laws. We cannot yet judge what

¹ A Puritan theologian, the opponent of Hooker.

will become of him or the rest, for all are not like to go one way ; Cobham is of the surest side, for he is thought least dangerous, and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend. They say the priests shall lead the dance to-morrow, and Brooke next after, for he proves to be the knot that tied together the three conspiracies : the rest hang indifferent betwixt mercy and justice, wherein the king hath now subject to practise himself. The lords are most of them returned to the court. The lord chancellor and treasurer remain here till Tuesday, to shut up the term. My lord goeth from hence to Petworth, but I pick quarrel to stay behind to see an end of these matters. The court is like to Christmas at Windsor, and many plays and shows are bespoken, to give entertainment to our ambassadors.

The French king doth winter at Fountainbleau, and is fallen into a new delight of the Italian comedians, of which I send you a conceit put upon Monsieur Rosny.¹ The queen is there made *chef du conseil*, and grows very expert in despatch of affairs. The marquis is quite retired from court. Rosny and Soissons go up and down like two buckets ; for they are not so reconciled but as one comes to the court the other is ever going away. They say we shall have here from thence ere long Mr. Zamet ; I know not to what other purpose, unless it be to teach us to make good sauce, and to show their variety of excellent men in all crafts. The Marquis de Luttin, ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, is at Brussels, and so far on his way hitherwards. The grand Chaoux² is arrived at the French court, and will likewise come hither to congratulate with our king, from the Turk. The Venetian ambassadors had audience at court on Sunday last. They were brought from Southampton to Salisbury by Mr. Allen Percy, with two of the kings' coaches and four pad horses, and were welcomed with the foulest day that came this year ; and at night (as they came late) found but seven beds prepared for seven score. The day they were had to their audience there was an embargo of coaches before the court gate to bring them

¹ The celebrated statesman Maximilian de Bethune, duc de Sully.

² All envoys from Mahommedan countries appear to have been styled Chaoux, or Chioux.

thither; but as soon as they were arrived, every man departed with his own coaches, for fear of the like arrest; so as the greatest part of them were forced to go home on foot, and some of the best sort to stay till midnight for the return of their coaches. The knavish Frenchmen laughed at their disorders, and say they are served like right pantaloons; but they deserve to be better styled, for they are come in best show and fashion of any I saw yet, and do all things with as great magnificence. As to their captain that wafted them over, they gave forty crowns, besides petty presents; whereas the Spanish ambassador gave Sir Robert Mansfield a leather jerkin, and the Count D'Aremberg, a Parmesan cheese.

A fortnight since there was a petty ambassador at court from the State of Stade, who came when no man looked for him, and took the king as he found him, presently after sermon, and in the open presence set upon him with a long Latin oration. The king made him no long answer, but gave the honour of entertaining him to Secretary Herbert. The agent of Geneva hath obtained a collection to be made in all the churches of England and Scotland for the space of three months; his masters in the mean time have fairly scaped another surprise on a Sunday as they were at service. The siege of Bolduc¹ is raised, and the two generals retire to Brussels and the Hague. I send you a letter I received from Mr. Winwood, of this summer's service in those parts, wherein I think you will marvel as well as I that the States are grown so cursed-hearted to give away Grave because they cannot take Bolduc. The Spanish ambassador hath been with the king, to expostulate some words he heard to be spoken at these arraignments in prejudice of his master, and to please him the attorney took occasion to make an open apology. The last he feasted the French ambassador's wife,² with many of our ladies, and he had music and dancing; at which the French ambassador and he were at half falling out who should lead the dance. They all returned very ill satisfied for cheer or entertainment.

The French ambassador at his last audience brought his companion D'Auval to take his leave, who is gone for good

¹ Bois le Duc.

² Madame de Beaumont.

and all. The king knighted him, and gave him a jewel of 150 crowns. Our ambassador in France¹ (they say) is busy in making a new French grammar and dictionary. One Walton, a man of his, that has remained with him ever since his going over, is turned monk, and hath put himself into a cloister at Compiègne. Fitzherbert, whom he took in my place, is come over to seek a new fortune.

Out of Ireland here are come many captains and cashiered officers, with their pockets full of brass, and sue to have it made good silver; but the lord treasurer's skill is not that of alchymy. The coffers are so empty, that household officers are unpaid, and the pensioners and guard are ready to mutiny. There was a fortnight since, near Salisbury, a desperate combat betwixt Douglas, the master of the king's horse, and Lee, brother to the Avenor, who began their quarrel at Windsor. Douglas was left dead in the field, with three hurts, and was buried three days after in Salisbury church, with a kind of solemnity at which the duke, the Scottish lords, and all other, Scot and Lot, were present; Lee was hurt in four places, but lives, and is like to escape. He is not much followed by the Scots, because they hold there was fair play between them. The younger Douglas has his brother's place, which doth somewhat help to appease the quarrel. Sir Thomas Jermyn hath got the reversion of Jersey, after Sir John Peynton, Sir Philip Herbert, and Sir James Hayes have got betwixt them a grant of transport of cloths, worth £10,000 at the least.

I do call to mind a pretty secret that the Lady of Pembroke hath written to her son Philip, and charged him of all her blessings to employ his own credit and his friends, and all he can do for Raleigh's pardon; and though she does little good, yet she is to be commended for doing her best in showing *veteris vestigia flammæ*.

Sir Walter Cope is in this town, and Sir Hugh Beston likewise, who often asks for you as your friend, and therefore you are the more to lament that he is untimely come to a nightcap. Many marvel at his sudden breaking, but most ascribe it to a thought he took at a word which Sir

¹ Sir Thomas Parry.

Walter Raleigh spoke at his examinations, who asked if Sir Hugh Beston was not apprehended and tortured, because he was always of his chiefest counsel.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Salisbury, December 11, 1603.

The two priests that led the way to the execution were very bloodily handled; for they were cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck; for he both strove to help himself, and spake after he was cut down. They died boldly, both, and Watson (as he would have it seem) willing; wishing he had more lives to spend, and one to lose, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treason. Clarke stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore he thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were set on Winchester gates, and their heads on the first tower of the castle. Brooke was beheaded in the castle-yard, on Monday last; and to double his grief, had St. Croftes in his sight, from the scaffold, which drove him first to discontent. There was no greater assembly than I have seen at ordinary executions; nor no man of quality more than the Lord of Arundel and young Somerset; only the Bishop of Chichester, who was sent from the court two days before, to prepare him to his end, could not get loose from him; but by Brooke's earnest entreaty was fain to accompany him to the scaffold, and serve for his ghostly father. He died constantly and (to seeming) religiously; spake not much, but what he said was well and assured. He did somewhat extenuate his offences, both in the treasons and the course of his life, naming these rather errors than capital crimes, and his former faults sins; but not so heinous as they were traduced; which he referred to the God of truth and time to discover; and so left it, as it somewhat lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his justification. The bishop went from him to the Lord Cobham, and at the same time the Bishop of Winchester was with Raleigh,

both by express order from the king, as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accusation and the other's peremptory denial. The Bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a willingness to die, and readiness to die well, with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh; but the other bishop had more to do with his charge; for though for his conscience he found him well settled and resolved to die a Christian and a good Protestant; for the point of confession, he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation; only the pension, he said, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in. Grey, in the mean time, with his minister, Field, having had the like summons for death, spent his time in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that with which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be any ways distracted from his accustomed fashions. Markham was told he should likewise die; but, by secret message from some friends at court, had still such hope given him, that he would not believe the worst news till the last day; and though he could be content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him, it was rather to pass time, than for any good purpose, for he was catholically disposed; to think of death no way disposed.

Whilst these men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about them at court, for life or death, some pushing at the wheel one way, some another. The lords of the council joined in opinion and advice to the king, now in the beginning of his reign, to show as well examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title of *Clemens* as well as *Justus*; but some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins. The king held himself upright betwixt two waters, and first let the Lords know, that since the law had passed

upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances; and to others gave as good reasons, to let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving, but would be led as his own judgment and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take its course, and the execution hasted.

Warrants were signed and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last, at night, for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns, as yesterday being Friday, about ten of the clock. A fouler day could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for such a tragedy. Markham being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and those ended, prepared himself to the block. The sheriff in the mean time was secretly withdrawn by one John Gill, a Scotch groom of the bedchamber; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold, to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy as his countenance was sad and heavy. The sheriff, at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared, he should yet have two hours' respite, so led him from the scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall, to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present

purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches, but for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. In his confession he said, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greatest, yet he knew and could but acknowledge his heart to be faulty; for which he asked pardon of the king; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the king's good estate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour; but being come to a full point, the sheriff stayed him and said, he had received orders from the king to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him; whereupon, he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's Hall, and his going away seemed more strange unto him than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him than of an hour's respite; neither could any man yet dive into the mysteries of this strange proceeding.

The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing but *matière pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance, and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so outprayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander-by said, "he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single." Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his offence to the king, and prayed pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh he took it, upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true; and with those words would have taken a short farewell of the world, with that constancy and boldness, that we might see by him, it is an easier matter to die well than live well. He was stayed by the sheriff, and told that there resteth yet somewhat else to be done; for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham being brought back to the scaffold, as they then were, but nothing acquainted with what had passed, no more than the lookers-on with what should follow, looked strange one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world.

Now all the actors being together on the stage, as use is at the end of a play, the sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of interrogatory of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution then to be performed; to all which they assented. "Then," saith the sheriff, "see the mercy of your prince, who of himself hath sent hither a countermand, and given you your lives." There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went down from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some such like accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of justice and mercy; that in this last, no man could cry loud enough, "God save the king!" and at the holding up of Brooke's head, when the executioner began the same cry, he was not seconded by the voice of any one man but the sheriff. You must think, if the spectators were so glad, the actors were not sorry; for even those that went best resolved to death were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor, never so much as to beg his life; and Grey, that since he had his life without begging, he would deserve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the scaffold. Raleigh, you must think, (who had a window opened that way) had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the king has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two lords to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brooksby, and Copley, are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the king without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action, for the lords knew no other but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed: and then calling them before him, he told them how much he had been troubled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble, young, spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud, insolent

nature, and execute Cobham, who had shewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, till travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, "and therefore I have saved them all." The miracle was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect: for the applause that began about the king went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court.

I send you a copy of the king's letter, which was privately written the Wednesday night, and the messenger despatched the Thursday, about noon. But one thing had like to have marred the play, for the letter was closed, and delivered him unsigned; which the king remembered himself, and called for him back again. And at Winchester there was another cross adventure: for John Gill could not get so near the scaffold that he could speak to the sheriff, but was thrust out amongst the boys, and was fain to call out to Sir James Hayes, or else Markham might have lost his neck. There were other bye passages, if I could readily call them to mind; but here is enough already for *un petit mot de lettre*, and therefore I bid you heartily farewell.

John Chamberlain, Esq. to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

Ascot, August 14, 1604.

It seems the Spanish train is curtailed by the better half from that was given out.

I heard lately from Sir William Borlase, that the Hollanders were about to intercept him between the ship and shore, and that they have burnt a little ship of Dover going for Dunkirk. Whereupon some of them landing two days after at Dover, they of the town set upon them and killed two and hurt divers, which beginning will breed no good blood, if it be not prevented. And, lastly, that the 5th of August a lioness whelped in the Tower, a thing seldom or never heard of before. Thus you see how we pay you with your own coin, and send you trees to the wood.

JAMES THE FIRST.

The sickness increaseth at Oxford, and hath taken away one Eveleigh,¹ principal of Hart Hall, on Wednesday last, which gave them all such an alarm, that the college were ready to rise and make away.

On Friday last, the Lord Sanquire, going from Sir William Greeves to Ricot, set there to practise or play with Turner, the fencer, who by mischance run him into the eye, so that he was in great danger to lose it, and withal the pain and anguish hath put him into an ague that torments him, and makes him lie by it.²

Sir Edward Hoby³ to Sir Thomas Edmondes.⁴

November 19, 1605.

My being in the country made it somewhat long before I could receive your last to me of the 18th of September; being likewise the same occasion, that I could not return you any answer before this time, for that it was Hallowtide before my arrival at this good town. And for answer to your lordship's letter, I very humbly thank you for so well satisfying of me touching Diego de Bonastre, assuring your lordship that though I have a very great desire to entertain one for the exercise of that tongue, yet in a matter of so great indifferency, I will never yield so much scandal to nourish any with my bread, of whom their highnesses⁵ shall conceive so just cause of dislike. I pray God grant unto her highness⁶ a good effect of her late painful pilgrimage. I am sure she went with a stronger faith than I had, when I ever moved to undertake the same for my arm.

We hear that Lipsius is dead.⁷ If it be so, I think it is because his purchase hath prospered no better in the Vale of Sichem.

¹ John Eveleigh, who became Principal of Hart Hall, in 1599.

² Subsequently, a taunt from the King of France induced Lord Sanquhar to seek a deadly revenge on the unfortunate fencer.

³ Eldest son of Sir Thomas Hoby, Knight. He was a gentleman of considerable learning, and the author of several works. He died March 1, 1616.

⁴ Ambassador at the court of Brussels. His name is frequently mentioned in the political history of the times, and he held several important employments in the reigns of James and Charles.

⁵ The Archduke Albert and Infanta Isabella.

⁶ The Infanta.

⁷ Justus Lipsius, who enjoyed great celebrity at this period as a scholar and a critic, though his works, in six folio volumes, are now rarely opened. He did not die till March 23, 1605-6. The allusion in the next sentence is to a Latin treatise of his, long since forgotten.

THE COURT AND TIMES OF

For our occurrences here, on Wednesday, the 30th of October, the Earl of Cumberland died; and it is said the body of the council is no whit weakened thereby. His wife and he were reconciled before his death, who is left a lady able to pleasure the communion of saints, having a jointure of £1200 a-year, confirmed in 39 Elizabeth by parliament. Upon his opening, there was as much filthy matter in his liver as filled a great charger. My Lord of Salisbury is one of his executors. His daughter shall have £15,000, and be married to my Lord of Walden. The last of October died the old Lady Chandos; and it is confidently said that my lord is to marry my lord chamberlain's eldest daughter.

The same day the king arrived at Whitehall. I have sent unto your lordship a letter to Monsieur de Vorreyken. Upon the 1st of November, M. de Beaumont¹ departed towards France, having left behind him a reasonable distaste here; but had a very extraordinary present given him from the king and queen likewise, and so had his wife. I understand that the Count de Crumaille, who is to succeed him, will not be here these six weeks; so as for this parliament we are like to be without a French ambassador. Here were certain books lately brought out of France, and great search made after them to call them all in. And how true I know not, but I am let to understand that our ambassador there moved the French king for the suppressing of the whole press, and received but a very slight answer. It containeth a history of some eight years since, containing some quires of paper, and written by one Dampmartin. You may easily recover one by the French ambassador there. There is another book written in Spanish, much in disgrace of the admiral, and carriage of our countrymen there.

Before my coming hither, I hear that Madame de Hobouquen was with the queen at Hampton Court, where she did excellently carry herself, to her great commendation. I have not yet seen her, but will do with the first opportunity I can, and will do her all the honour and service I can,

¹ The Comte de Beaumont; he had been ambassador here during a portion of the subsequent reign.

purposing, when my wife shall be come to the town, and settled, solemnly to invite her. But to tell your lordship truly, she lieth so far off at Stepney, as this winter weather it is a great toil to go to her: a man must be fain to spend a whole day for a compliment, which I should hardly do during the parliament, were it not that my obligation is so great to my Father Monsieur le Président as will leave nothing unperformed; much marvelling, for many respects, that they do not winter within the city.

It is said here, that the chaplain which Sir Charles Cornwallis carried over with him into Spain is turned friar. Likewise, that a priest of Taxis is converted here, and assuredly given out that Sir Edmund Bainham is turned capuchin. Sundry parliament men are dead since the last session, as Sir Arthur Atye, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir Richard Levison, Sir George Harvey, Sir Philip Knightly, old Liefe of Hastings, Sir Edward Lewkener, Sir Thomas Hesketh, attorney of the wards (in whose room Serjeant Hobart is placed), young Sir Henry Beaumont, &c., wherein your lordship may note, that it hath lighted most upon fat men. For lords I find none dead but the Lord Windsor.

Here hath been lately kept certain martial courts by the commissioners, wherein were chiefly handled, as I understand, the matter of the Earl of Kildare for the barony of Ophaly: as also the Viscount Montagu calleth in question Sir Edward Monteagle for bearing of his coat of arms and quartering of Mount Kermor, driving it to the point of proving no gentleman. But one thing seemed very strange unto me, which the Lords have likewise called before them, that there is one Musgrove, one of the knights of the Bath, and hath married my Lord Wharton's daughter, who hath caused to be made a great number of windows to be set up in his house, containing sundry arms, where he placed for the first coat the arms of England, the second the arms of Scotland, the third of Edward the Confessor, and the fourth his own. I verily believe he will prove another Basset.

In the beginning of this Michaelmas term, Justice Gawdy was made chief justice of the Common Pleas.

We hear that the King of Spain hath been lately in

Navarre, under colour of coming to be crowned : but when he came to Pampeluna he flayed the governor of the town quick, and put to death two hundred inhabitants for practising with France.

On the 5th of November we began our parliament, when the king should have come in person, but he refrained through a practice but that morning discovered.¹ The plot was to have blown up the king at such time as he should have been set in his royal throne, accompanied with his children, nobility, and commoners, and assisted with all the bishops, judges, and doctors, at one instant ; a blast to have ruined the whole state and kingdom of England ; and for the effecting of this there was placed under the Parliament House, where the king should sit, some thirty barrels of powder, with good store of wood, faggots, pieces and bars of iron. How this came forth is sundry ways delivered. Some say by a letter sent to the Lord Monteagle, wherein he was warned not to come to the parliament the first day ; for that the time was so wicked, as God would take some vengeance, which would be in a short time performed as that letter could be burned, which he was prayed to do. Such as are apt to interpret all things to the worst, will not believe other, but that Monteagle might in a policy cause this letter to be sent, fearing the discovery already of the letter ; the rather that one Thomas Ward, a principal man about him, is suspected to be accessory to the treason. Others otherwise. But, howsoever, certain it is, that upon a search lately made on Monday night, in the vault under the parliament chamber before spoken of, one Johnson² was found with one of these close lanterns preparing the train against the next morrow, who, being after brought into the galleries of the court, and there demanded if he were not sorry for his so foul and heinous a treason, answered that he was sorry for nothing but that the act was not performed. Being replied unto him, that no doubt there had been a number in that place of his own religion, how in conscience he could do them hurt, he answered a few might well perish to have the rest taken away. Others telling him that he should

¹ The gunpowder plot.

² The assumed name of Faukes.

die a worse death than he that killed the Prince of Orange, he answered that he could bear it as well ; and oftentimes repeated, that he should have merited pardon if he had performed it. Some say, that he was servant to one Thomas Percy : others, that he is a Jesuit, and had a shirt of hair next his skin. But he was carried to the Tower on Tuesday following, whither the Lords went to examine him. This Thomas Percy had been a servant of the Earl Northumberland's, and put in great trust by him concerning his northern business, and lately made by him a pensioner. He presently fled, and proclamations were made presently for his apprehension. Early on the Monday morning the Earl of Worcester was sent to Essex House, to signify the matter to my Lord of Northumberland, whom he found asleep in his bed, and hath done since his best endeavour for his apprehension. This Percy, my Lord of Northumberland confessed, had £4000 of his in his hands. I will judge the best, but if this earl should be found hereafter anyways privy thereto, it cannot be but that Beaumont's hand was in the pie.

When Johnson was brought to the king's presence, the king asked him how he could conspire so hideous treason against his children and so many innocent souls, which never offended him ? He answered, that it was true ; but a dangerous disease required a desperate remedy. He told some of the Scots that his intent was to have blown them back again into Scotland. We say, that Sir Antony Shirley hath been with the emperor, and is at this time employed by him into Spain : and there is farther news, that his brother, Robert Shirley, hath been the chief instrument for the Persian to overthrow fourscore thousand Turks.¹

Since Johnson's being in the Tower, he beginneth to speak English,² and yet he was never upon the rack, but only by his arms upright. On Thursday, the 7th of

¹ There was another brother in this family of adventurers. They formed the subject of a play, written by John Day, called, "The Travels of the Three English Brothers." Anthony and Robert obtained great distinction at the court of Shah Abbas, and the former subsequently entered into the service of the King of Spain, as admiral and member of the council.

² To confess.

November, the Earl of Northumberland was committed to the custody of the Archbishop, who, as I doubt not but you already know, is made one of the privy council. Some insurrection hath been in Warwickshire, and begun the very same day that the plot should have been executed; some Popish flight-heads thinking to do wonders. The chiefest names which I hear of, are such as were swaggerers in Essex's action; as Catesby, and some say Tresham, the two Wrights, and one of the Winters, and such like. Percy himself was met at Dunstable, it should seem going towards them. If the practice had taken effect, the King of Spain's ambassador and the archduke's had been blown up; for their coaches were ready at the door to have attended on the king. Some say that Northumberland received the like letter that Monteagle did, and concealed it. The Viscount Montacute is committed to Sir Thomas Bennett's house, alderman of London. Captain Whitelocke is committed to the Tower of London. Sir Walter Raleigh is much suspected to be privy to this action; for Whitelocke had had private conference late with him.¹ The prisoner's right name is held not to be Johnson, but Faux. He hath further confessed that there be many gentlemen which at this time serve the archduke, that have been made privy that they should be prepared for that day for an insurrection; and that he verily thinketh they will come shortly over by degrees.

Many rumours run here, concerning Monsieur Beaumont. Some give out that he is not passed the seas at my writing of this. But I am credibly let to understand, that he did mightily importune to pass over, and did take shipping the same Tuesday morning, notwithstanding an adverse wind; and that he gave to the captain which carried him over a ring, worth some five-and-twenty crowns, which he took in dudgeon. I hear that that German which so braved him heretofore in his own house followed him to Canterbury, and there, *à la dérobée*, affianced himself to his gentlewoman, la Hay, about whom the stir was.

¹ Knowing how much the king disliked Sir Walter Raleigh, who was in fact the greatest ornament of his court, no accusation appears to have been too improbable for the courtiers to bring against him.

Your lordship must interpret of my letter favourably, as written at sundry times, which I do for your better information, though it hang, as it were, by points. It is much here observed, that the French king would have no ambassador here against that day. Such as have been curious to search out whether ever the like act hath been attempted, can find none come so near this as a practice about nine years since, to blow up the Consistory at Rome by one of the House of Este. I pray your lordship let me understand from you how Sir Henry Carey is handled, and how his affairs go. I think they were too forward when we were there, to advance their titles above others. I pray your lordship, if you send any hither at any time, to return again; that you will give them an instruction to call upon me first, and let me know how I may safely send unto you.

I understand that Tyrwhyt, which married my Lady Bridget, and also Sir Everard Digby, are gone to the rebels,¹ who have left Warwickshire, and are gone into Worcestershire: but of the flying hand, and little strength, not daring to come into any good town. All the king's servants are to take the oath of supremacy. On Friday, the 8th of November, the king sent forth a proclamation, that whosoever could apprehend Thomas Percy, and bring him alive, if he were an offender in his treason, in whatsoever degree, he should not only have pardon of his life, lands, and goods, but also a reward of £1000 value, at the least; and, if he be no offender, he shall have that, or a greater reward. His majesty set forth a proclamation before that, wherein he freed his neighbour kings and princes from any suspicion he had of their privity; for that all the ministers of foreign princes which are now here made earnest suit to be present in the place that day. It is said that the rebels came but two hours too late to have seized upon the person of my Lady Elizabeth's grace.²

On the 9th of November, the king came to the parliament house; the queen his wife, the ambassadors of the Infanta, and the King of Spain, present. There was solemnly

¹ The associates in Faukes's conspiracy.

² The king's daughter.

delivered up, by the lord chancellor, that part of the instrument of the Union which was to be offered to the consideration of the next session of parliament, the House of Commons being likewise present. The king used some speech touching that matter, and largely dilated in some points touching the late horrible treason; and, in the end, prorogued the parliament until the 21st of January. Among many other respects, one was, that in the mean time many examinations might be thoroughly taken, for that all the offenders in this treason should be tried by the next session of parliament. His majesty in his speech observed one principal point, that most of all his best fortunes had happened unto him upon the Tuesday; and particularly he repeated his deliverance from Gowry and this, in which he noted precisely, that both fell upon the fifth day of the month: and therefore concluded that he made choice that the next sitting of parliament might begin upon a Tuesday. I must confess to your lordship that I was not myself present, nor have not been, since the session began, out of my house, neither had I been at that day's work; but I hope my father Richardot will not hold me in suspicion.

Tyrwhyt is come to London, Tresham sheweth himself, and Ward walketh up and down. Johnson's name now is turned into Guy Vaux, alias Faux. Upon the 10th of November fresh news came, that the traitors were overthrown by the sheriff of Worcestershire; that Catesby is slain, Percy taken, but sore hurt, at Lyttleton's house in Worcestershire, which they say the sheriff put fire to. I understand the sheriff's name is Welch. So much was signified the same day, upon a solemn and general thanksgiving, by Barlow, Bishop of Rochester, as I heard. I understand that the French church here at London appointed the same day for a general thanksgiving, and proclaimed a fast for the Thursday ensuing.

On Friday, the 15th of November, the Lord Montacute, and Lord Mordaunt, and Tresham, were sent to the Tower. It is thought the Lord Mordaunt will be found very capital; for that one Keye, the keeper of his house at Turvey, was one of the principal plotters of the treason.

One thing is very worthy of note, that as these men would have wrought by powder, so by their own powder, which was casually set on fire at Lyttleton's house, they were much distressed; otherwise, it is thought, that the sheriff had not so easily come by them. Percy is dead, who it is thought, for some particular men, could have said more than any other.

Upon the death of the Earl of Cumberland, Grafton and the parks were bestowed upon the Duke of Lennox. I understand, that upon composition of all parties, Holmby House is now the Duke of York's,¹ and my Lord Compton the keeping of it.

The computation house whereunto all this crew resorted during their practice was the Harts-horn, in Carter Lane. I pray your lordship that I may understand your receipt hereof.

[The writer of the following letter received his education at Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts on the 19th of April, 1610. It is presumed that he was a member of the House of Commons, from an expression in one of his letters describing the debates, respecting "our last demands." Be this as it may, Mr. John Pory went abroad a year or two afterwards, and was at Venice in July, 1613. He travelled about for several years, of which some notices will be found in these letters, intending at one time to proceed to Constantinople; but was diverted from it, or probably abandoned it for want of funds, for he was at Amsterdam in September, 1617, and at Paris in the following February. He, however, shortly extended his travels to the new world, for he employed the influence he possessed with the Earl of Warwick, to procure him the post of secretary for the colony of Virginia, where he went in the beginning of the year 1619, with the new governor, Sir George Yeardley, who on his arrival appointed him one of the council, and in this office he continued till the commission of the governor expired, in November, 1621, when he returned to England.

¹ The king's second son, afterwards King Charles I.

In October, he was appointed by the privy council one of the commissioners for inquiring into the state of the colony, to which he returned; but his stay must have been brief, for he was again in England in the summer of 1624, where he remained till his death, which happened in the autumn of 1635. He was evidently a man of very superior talent and of extensive information; and very few knew better what was going on in the political world both at home and abroad. He was much respected by his contemporaries, and was on terms of intimacy with many of the most eminent.]

Mr. Pory to Sir Robert Cotton.

January, 1605.

Ever since your departure, I have been very unfit to learn any thing, because my hearing, which Aristotle calls *sensus eruditionis*, hath by an accidental cold been almost taken from me, which makes me very unsociable, and to keep within doors; yet not in such a retired fashion, but that I have seen both the masque on Sunday, and the barriers on Monday night.¹ The bridegroom² carried himself as gravely and gracefully as if he were of his father's age. He had greater gifts given him than my Lord of Montgomery had, his place being valued at £3000, and his jewels, money, and other gifts, at £1000 more. But to return to the masque, both Inigo, Ben, and the actors, men and women, did their parts with great commendation. The conceit or soul of the masque was Hymen bringing in a bride, and Juno's priest a bridegroom, proclaiming that these two should be sacrificed to nuptial

¹ Since the arrival of the new king and queen, the gen'us of Ben Jonson, assisted by Inigo Jones in the scenes and properties, had been in frequent requisition, in preparing masques for the entertainment of their majesties and the court. The king seems to have been gratified with Ben's erudition, but the courtiers were soon satiated with it, and the poet makes many an indignant complaint at their want of judgment. The general reader at the present day, if he look over the "*Hymeni*" and *Barriers* prepared for the occasion, mentioned in the text, it is likely enough may become as impatient of such laborious trifling, as were the majority of the poet's auditors. In truth, as may be gathered from Mr. Pory's description, it is crammed with the sort of learning likely to please such a pedagogue as James, without possessing a particle of human interest.

² Robert Earl of Essex, married at the age of fourteen, in January, 1605-6, to Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, she being then thirteen years of age. Of this unfortunate union the reader will shortly come to particulars of a very different character.

union : and here the poet made an apostrophe to the union of the kingdoms. But before the sacrifice could be performed, Ben Jonson turned the globe of the earth standing behind the altar, and within the concave sat the eight men-maskers, representing the four Humours and the four Affections, who leaped forth to disturb the sacrifice to Union. But amidst their fury, Reason, that sate above them all, crowned with burning tapers, came down and silenced them. These eight, together with Reason, their moderatress, mounted above their heads, sat somewhat like the ladies in the scallop-shell the last year. About the globe of earth hovered a middle region of clouds, in the centre whereof stood a grand concert of musicians, and upon the cantons or horns sat the ladies, four at one corner, and four at another, who descended upon the stage; not after the stale downright perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well, but came gently sloping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the eight nuptial powers of Juno, who came down to confirm the union. The men were clad in crimson and the women in white: they had every one a white plume of the richest heron's feathers, and were so rich in jewels upon their heads, as who most glorious. I think they hired and borrowed all the principal jewels and sets of pearl both in court and city. The Spanish ambassador seemed but poor to the meanest of them. They danced all variety of dances, both severally and *promiscue*; and then the women took on the men, as namely the prince¹—who danced with as great perfection and as settled a majesty as could be devised—the Spanish ambassador, the arch-duke's ambassador, the duke, &c.; and the men gleaned out the queen, the bride, and the greatest of the ladies.

The second night the barriers were as well performed by fifteen against fifteen; the Duke of Lennox being chieftain on the one side, and my Lord of Sussex on the other.²

¹ Henry, Prince of Wales.

² Should the reader desire further information respecting this court entertainment, he must turn to the masque of Hymen, in Ben Jonson's collected works, where nothing appears to have been forgotten by the learned author but a little common sense, to render it intelligible.

But to leave these sports and fall to more serious matters, on Friday last, the old Venetian leiger Molino presented to the king and prince a new leiger, called Justiniano. I say to the prince, because they delivered a letter from the signory to him as well as to the king. They came to the court in thirteen coaches; they were apparelled in black gowns, lined with the richest fur of all others, black fox.

[The individual to whom this letter is addressed was one of the most eminent literary characters of his age, and one, too, to whom the world of letters owes great and peculiar obligations. Robert Bruce Cotton was born at Deaton, in Huntingdonshire, in the year 1570; and Trinity College, Cambridge, having well completed the education commenced at Westminster School, he took up his residence in London, where he commenced the study and collection of British historical antiquities, and became so well known as an historical scholar—partly by publications illustrative of the annals of his own country, and partly by the very extensive library of books and manuscripts he had collected—that James I. thought him worthy the honour of knighthood, and on the institution of the order of baronets included him in the creation. In the reign of Charles I. he was deprived of his liberty, and denied the use of his noble library, because a manuscript, advocating very arbitrary opinions, had been copied by his librarian, and lent to some persons about the court. This injustice preyed heavily on his mind, and hastened his dissolution, which occurred in May, 1631. Sir Robert was the founder of the Cottonian Library, which used to be preserved at Cotton House, Westminster, till removed to the British Museum about the middle of the last century.]

Sir Edward Hoby to Sir Thomas Edmondess.

February 10, 1605-6.

I received your letter of the 6th of January the 20th of the same. We have been here very much troubled with an accident fallen out, and yet by no means can be

discovered, about the city of London and some shires adjoining unto it. Whole slaughters of sheep have been made, in some places to the number of a hundred, in others less, where nothing is taken from the sheep but their tallow and some inward parts, the whole carcasses and fleeces remaining still behind. Of this are sundry conjectures, but most agree that it tendeth towards some fireworks. The company of Turkey merchants stand here in great fear what will become of their goods, for that a ship of London, as I think, the *Merchant Royal*, hath very lately, in the service of the Duke of Florence, taken a great galleon of the Great Turk's of infinite price laden with his tributes from Cairo.

On the 21st of January we began our parliament, and that day was passed in the House of Commons with motions tending that a committee might be chosen to consider of certain points, which the speaker of the House should deliver unto the king, wishing that first there might be a congratulation from us all for his happy deliverance, and to move his majesty that he would make a public proclamation, in showing his detestation against Popery and their adherents; that his majesty would not use his wonted clemency against such offenders; and in the end to be petitioners unto his majesty on the behalf of the House, that he would be pleased that we might make more severe laws against them than yet were. The first motioner of this was Sir George More, seconded by Sir Francis Hastings, and thirdly by the king's solicitor: the motion prevailed. In the afternoon of the same the committee sat, and for a great while the motion was affected; for Mr. Speaker, who was desired as a committee to be present, brought articles ready drawn, and no doubt had a long laboured speech in his breast, which was vehemently suspected, and that the project grew from some prepared. In the end all was utterly rejected, alleging that it was not fit to send to the king at all, for that the lord chancellor had done the same in effect the last session. That now to require his proclamation were to show a distrust in the king; that the best course which could be taken was, that the king would put all papists out of his

court and chamber; for that to take the oath was not a sufficient assurance; and by no means to be a petitioner to the king, for that would only draw more malice to his person: and that it was dishonourable to the House to ask leave for what they had in their own power. Only a bill to be drawn was agreed upon. Speakers in this were Sir John Hollis, Yelverton, Hyde, and Francis More, and Sir Francis Bacon.¹

The 22d little was done, save that Sir Henry Montagu added that the former committees might have some special care to provide for the safety of the king's person, of which he offered a draught.

There hath been lately upon an assize in Scotland six ministers condemned, upon a statute, for conventing against his majesty's express commandment. Many of the tryers did acquit them; but the major part, which were compounded of the Humes, did oust them. Notwithstanding, the execution is deferred; and, as I hear, there is part taking; the Earls of Angus, Argyle, and Mar, being for them, with many more. In this I leave your lordship to judge what the event may prove in time, when popish lords are ready to stand for godly ministers.

The 23rd of January, the chiefest matter in parliament handed over a project for the making of the 5th day of November an holiday for ever, in thankfulness to God for our deliverance, and detestation of the papists. It was with great applause by the House committed: the motion grew from Sir Edward Montagu. The 24th little was done but reading of private bills, because few general were ready. Notwithstanding, Hare sharply inveighed against purveyors; and the House ordered that a Bill should be drawn. Some motions passed to and fro about a more sharp death for the gunpowder offenders, but little was concluded. The 25th little was done more than sending up a Bill to the Lords for the keeping of the 5th day of November for an holiday; and the House adjourned until the 28th day. The same day Tanfield was made a justice in

¹ The manner in which the Commons were cajoled by the government, in the first faint efforts that were being made in the House for reform, is well related in Lingard, vol. ix. p. 70.

the King's Bench, and Coventry in the Common Pleas. Sir William Killigrew was likewise sworn chamberlain of the Exchequer the same day. The new Venetian ambassador had also audience that day.

I forgot to write unto your lordship of my Lord Knollys' marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Howard, at the Charter House, the 19th day of January. The 16th day of January the Archbishop of York¹ died for certain. It is said that Durham² shall be removed thither; and Dr. James, who is now Dean of Durham, to be bishop; and Newton, the prince's schoolmaster, to succeed in the deanery.

The 27th of January, Sir Robert Wroth died. The same day were arraigned by commission in Westminster Hall, two Winters, Grant, Rookwood, Keyes, Faux, and Bates, a man of Catesby's. These had one jury passed upon them, and found guilty as persons privy to the powder and mine. Afterwards, before the same commissioners, Sir Everard Digby was arraigned, and found guilty by another jury. He spake much, chiefly in defence of the Catholic cause, wherein he shewed his zeal and willingness to die, abandoning wife, children, and land, for the same, hardly urging and insisting upon the king's promises to Catholics, but in the end concluding with three petitions, that the king would be pleased to permit his wife to enjoy her jointure; that such conveyance of his lands as he had made to his children might not be shaken; and that he might be beheaded. The Earl of Salisbury did notably answer to those points which concerned the king. The queen and prince were in a secret place bye to hear them; and some say, the king in another. In the end, all the prisoners received one usual form of judgment.

The 28th day little was done in parliament, the great matters being not ripe nor ready to manage. The afternoon spent in the committee about order to be taken for papists. The 29th of January little of moment passed in parliament; only the speaker delivered a message from the king, how he had understood of our intention to make some laws for the furtherance of religion, safety of his own person, and to meet with these dangerous practices;

¹ Dr. Matthew Hutton.

² Toby Matthew.

wherein he did not command, but pray us to use all convenient expedition.

The 30th, a bill was committed against the purveyors ; and the same day, Sir Everard Digby, the elder Winter, Grant, and Bates, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, over against the Bishop of London's house.

I doubt not but your lordship had already my Lord of Salisbury's apology ; but for the more surety I have sent it you.

The treaty betwixt us and France, which hath retarded the coming home of Sir Thomas Parry, seemeth to go very well forwards ; for the king's vigorous edict against our cloth is repealed. The law *d'aubaine*, touching the goods of aliens which die, is likewise reversed ; and all letters of mart by land, by which they did seize on merchant's goods after custom paid, are likewise abolished. The French queen is very great with child, and ready to lie down : and there is a fresh *bruit* that Beaumont's La Heyte¹ is entertained by the French king.

The last of January the speaker delivered unto the House from the king, how that his majesty had been moved to give his allowance for Sir John Fortescue's and Sir Francis Goodwin's election into our House in the room of some dead ; but would not assent thereunto until he first saw how we stood affected therein : which the House accepted in very thankful part, and assented thereunto. A motion was likewise made that morning by a member of the House, how he stood informed that Sir William Morrice did use to go to mass in the Spanish ambassador's house ; avowing that Sir Thomas Cornwallis, the groom-porter, would upon his oath witness the same. Sir William alleged for himself that he was never at any, but once in the gallery at Somerset House, when the constable was here ; and that before he was aware thereof. But the House ordered, that Mr. Speaker should write his letter to Sir Thomas Cornwallis, that he should repair unto the House to speak what he knew in this kind.

The same day were executed in the old palace the younger Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Faux. Two of

¹ The lady mentioned in the last line of p. 38.

the principal Jesuit priests were apprehended at Abington's house in Worcestershire, whereby will grow new matter, all three being sent for up. They say that Stephen Lyttleton, who was to have been executed in the country, hath revealed more freely and to the purpose, than all other that were in the Tower, and is sent for up.

I understand that our ambassador in Spain is almost utterly left without servants, the most part of his train being turned papists, and gone to the King of Spain and the archduke's service.

The 1st of February Sir Thomas Cornwallis came to the bar in the House, where he confessed only that he had said one day at dinner, that he understood Sir William Morrice was a great persecutor of papists, but thought it would much appal him that he had seen him come from mass; and that he spoke it merrily. But the House stood very much unsatisfied with his rude carriage of himself in the House; but they let him go, and acquitted Sir William Morrice; notwithstanding sundry members of the House did testify that his words were in other sort. The same day a cause between the Lords Beauchamp and Monteagle was heard in the Court of Wards, the issue whereof was for the finding of an office; the main point whereof was to prove the lawfulness of the Earl of Hertford's marriage.¹ The court sat until five of the clock in the afternoon, and the jury had a week's respite for the delivery up of their verdict. Upon Candlemas day the sheriffs were pricked: and that day came first news of my Lady Derby's being brought to bed in Lancashire of a fair son.

On the 3rd of February most part of the day was spent in digesting of articles of a bill to be drawn against the recusants: at which time the Lords sent down to the House to pray a conference for the maintenance of true religion, safety of the king's person, and good of the kingdom: which was assented unto to meet upon the Thursday following in the afternoon. The king went the same day to Hampton Court. Sir Oliver Manners is said to have

¹ The marriage between the old Earl of Hertford and Lady Catharine Gray, in Queen Elizabeth's time.

been made privy to these late treasons, but utterly detesting the fact; and, having a little good nature, though very Popish, being the king's carver, would not reveal it, but sold his place and went over. The 4th of February and the 5th, time was spent in debating of certain heads for the drawing of a bill against the recusants. The 6th was likewise spent in debate of articles of the same nature, among which motion was made that some remedy might be considered of, to meet with such kind of persons as enter into the Archduke's and King of Spain's service, who, being the king's subjects, take there the oath of the Pope's supremacy, and cannot be suffered to rise by their service, except they make such manifestation of their love and zeal to the Roman religion as can no ways agree with English loyalty. To which Sir Robert Drury replied, how he had himself spent some of this last summer in Flanders; and how he had himself spoken with the Archduke and with Richardot, whom he named as the chiefest man about him; who both, as he said, had delivered unto him that no nation was more welcome to his service than the English: and, notwithstanding that any were different in religion, from his profession, they would not leave to respect any according to their quality and nobleness of service. To this was replied, that our men had felt the contrary, and merely because they would not take that oath, and become Romish; and namely, how one Smith was refused a company, because he would not do as Stredder, Panam, and others had done. And the speaker showed to me an examination, wherein it was confessed how those beforenamed, and others, had sundry times been heard to say that they hoped, ere it were long, to hear mass in England as fast as they did in Flanders. Sir Robert Drury finding himself somewhat touched, and for that it was not to a bill, but to an article, the House gave leave to speak again; wherein he alleged to prove what he before averred, the special good usage of Sir William Windsor there, of whose affection of religion, he said, was good proof. The afternoon was spent in conference with the Lords, as is above-mentioned.

The 7th, time was spent in relating to the House

the proceeding with the Lords, which in sum was that the Lords had consulted upon certain heads against the recusants, as well as our House : and it was agreed upon, in the end, that our House might be moved to deliver their articles unto the lord chancellor, and the lords would do the like of theirs unto our speaker ; that a sub-committee might thereby be appointed from both Houses to draw a Bill ; which was assented unto by the House. In that conference my Lord of Salisbury showed a certain writing of the king's own hand, under the name of his " Meditations," which seemed so to concur with the heads of both the Houses, that you would have said (form only wanting) an act of parliament had been already made by the assent of the king, the Lords, and Commons. To give your lordship some taste of the heads, of some among many, of which there is now no doubt but the law will ensue—all recusants convict and not communicating, shall stand in the case of excommunicate persons, whereby they are clean out of the king's protection, subject to many dangers, and upon any injury offered not able to plead in any of the king's courts: the king to choose whether he will take £20 a month, or two parts of their livings : all women incapable of their dowers or jointures.

The 8th it was much debated in the House to keep soldiers from going to the archduke's service, many projects having been made to that end. About this time, the stream ran of the dean of the chapel should be Bishop of Durham, and Newton otherwise considered.

And now I will end my letter this 10th of February, with the news of this day's work. The House have agreed, in way of gratification to the king, to give him the value, but by other name, of two subsidies and four fifteenths, to be paid within one year and a half.

Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury,¹ to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

The Court at Whitehall, February 12, 1605-6.

This messenger acquainting me with his despatch to you, I could not excuse myself by the multiplicity of our parliament businesses, without recommending my wife and

¹ K. G., and seventh earl.

myself unto you and my lady your wife in a few lines. And, although I know not much meet to be committed to letters worth your reading, yet, if I did not persuade myself that you are advertised at large of all things here, by divers of your good friends, I would fill this side and the other with a more ample discourse.

When the Bill for the better safety of his majesty, chastising and bridling recusants, and ferreting and punishing the jesuits and priests, that come hither to sow the seeds of rebellion, shall be agreed upon, and the Commons drawn to add one subsidy or two to those two subsidies whereunto they have already voluntarily resolved to grant, two or three days since : the Union also concluded upon (whereof as yet there hath been no word spoken since this session began) and certain lands intailed upon the king's majesty and his royal issue ; when these things, I say, shall be perfected and despatched, then our parliament will be quickly ended ; which, I hope, will be about mid-lent at the farthest.

The Commons of the Lower House, where yourself¹ was wont to be placed amongst the mutineers, are much more temperate than they were at the first session, and now spend all their spirits and endeavours in devising laws tending to his majesty's safety, and suppressing of the dangerous members of this State. I heard not of any one transcendent speech uttered amongst them as yet. I am sure you hear of the two Jesuits, Garnet and Hull, that are taken, who have not yet been examined. The news will be nothing pleasing to any of our English rebels that are in those parts. Some of the lords in the Tower should have been brought into the Star Chamber to-morrow, but now they are deferred till Easter term.

Sir Thomas Smith² to Sir Thomas Edmondess.

February 12, 1605-6.

For the mischief that the most wicked traitors intended here, and the occasion of business they have given you

¹ Sir Thomas Edmondess had sat in the last parliament of Queen Elizabeth, which met October 1, 1601, as member for Liskeard, in Cornwall.

² He had been secretary to Robert, Earl of Essex, and was afterwards one of the

there, I would say ill beshrew their hearts, if both their hearts and their heads had not already paid for it, though an insufficient payment, if a greater could be for so monstrous and barbarous not only disloyalty, but inhumanity. And for all others here, that under pretence of conscience do harbour such evil affection to the State, it is pity but their heads were where their hearts are, at Rome, that the hangman here might be no more troubled with them.

I was ever of opinion, that neither Owen nor Baldwin should be sent hither. More dependeth thereon than the particular respect of the men themselves. There be, and will be, excuses enough found; and commonly betwixt princes and states pretences and excuses (though known to be but colourable) do pass for payment better than betwixt private men. But when all is done, this blood-stain and mark will never be washed out of the Popish religion; and the best of them all, that do now pretend a detestation of such a fact, would, if it had taken effect, have been no better than graceless sons, heirs to their fathers, whom for good fashion they would not profess that they wish to be dead; but if these were dead, would be glad of it. And in case the mischief had succeeded, there would easily have been found another style and language current among them of it. Well, sir, you can but do your endeavour; but I do not think we shall be so happy as to hear Owen or Baldwin speak here, for fear they should speak too much truth: and the rule of States is to be wiser, than to put their honour and reputation to such adventure in the confidence of any private man's resolution.

Henry, Earl of Northampton,¹ to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

March 2, 1605-6.

If I had any cause to doubt of your clear knowledge of our courses, as they are carried, and qualified according

clerks of the Lords' council, secretary of the Latin tongue, and one of the masters of the Requests. He died November 28, 1609, at his house at Parsons' Green, in the parish of Fulham.

¹ He was the second son of the accomplished Earl of Surrey, but does not appear either to have been honoured or trusted during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. On the succession of James he rose into notice through servility to the

to the measure which your instruments do ordinarily place those things which concern your charge, or were not particularly assured by the report of all my senses how directly you are dealt withal by him that reigneth in that element, by a favourable offer of your discreet deserts to the test of sovereign capacity, your lordship should more often hear from me, your mindful and professed friend, and sounding echo of your own due praise, and their approbations, to whom it appertains to value your industry. To say that I am apt to second any good report wherein your credit shares, were an idle begging of a thank upon an ordinary cause, when the work is only valuable for the tincture of itself, and no farther bound by obligation of secondary furtherances, than my silence upon such an offer could be warrantable at any time, to whom of duty it belongs to give encouragements to true labours. I will therefore, touching this point only, let you know, that as your letters of advertisement deserve to be perused by more than an ordinary or a vulgar ear, so the best eye in this element doth often read them over from the first line to the last; and question doth some time arise, whether we should more commend the nimbleness of your pen, the pure method of your discourse, or the drift of your industry. How little or how much I further this good work, and that oftentimes, I will not vaunt; but hereof you may assure yourself, that though I were in Barbary, the stroke which my Lord of Salisbury keeps still, in bringing forward the report of your best endeavours, were sufficient in due time to draw you to the reward of your own industry.

I have been earnestly intreated to require your furtherance and timely labour in behalf of H. Cary, who by too great forwardness hath plunged himself into a gulf of shrewd perplexities; for though no doubt be made of

reigning favourites, and successively filled the posts of privy councillor, warden of the Cinque Ports, and constable of Dover Castle; and on the 13th of March, 1604, was farther honoured with the dignities of Baron Howard, of Marhill, and Earl of Northampton. He erected and lived in that extensive edifice in the Strand, since known as Northumberland House; but his implication with Rochester in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury very nearly brought his career to an ignominious conclusion. This he had the good fortune to escape, and died on the 15th of June, 1614. His lordship's letter appears a very laboured production.

your own good inclination to ease a gentleman of so good quality in so just a cause, yet friends presume, and I think with great reason, that the earnest instance of some persons whom you value in your own kind love, will add a spur to your affection. Upon this confidence I fear not to adventure to put in my friendly mite into this peace-offering, with this assurance, that I shall reckon all these favours done unto myself, which shall be bestowed by your tender care upon this good labour. The time did never serve more aptly for this purpose, as I think, than now, when the marquis, coming with a message of humanity and civility, to congratulate the late delivery of our dear master from the gulf of ruin, may be drawn upon the way to make his embassy more gracious both in the king's eye and the States, by working some abatement of the misery of a poor gentleman in his passage hither, that is rather to be pitied in respect of his worthy affection, than wronged or afflicted, for that he was opposite. It is not improbable that the marquis will be glad to raise the scale of his reputation at his arrival in these parts, by this trouble and charitable part: and therefore crave this aid of you, that in case you find him capable of such a thought, you will improve your own endeavour, credit, and best means to see him through. This work is charitable in itself, pleasing to his majesty in respect of the gentleman, and grateful to many that do much esteem him.

Our Jesuits in this place, I fear, will fall into sequence with some there, for *latet aliquid quod patebit*; and you need not doubt but a matter of this moment—prince, state, and posterity—in this Luciferian degree, never sampled in any age or precedent, if it be not that should be sought and searched *ad minutissima*. We marvel much at the slow proceedings towards satisfaction to the king's demand of Owen; but I do assure you, that our suspense of liberty for soldiers to pass into those parts, that make the case so dainty to deliver up a traitor of this light, doth cause strong and sharp corrosive on the other side. The winking course which I am forced to take daily in the ports,¹ to make a difference between the of de-

¹ The Earl of Northampton was lord warden of the Cinque Ports.

sires and drifts so contrary, and my watchful cares to secure the party most favoured in some nice points, which happen by the whisking of our Holland barks in every port, hath almost overlaid and tired me with struggling between both parts, and in these narrow straits, which would some time put a wit of greater weight than my own to their highest proof, when matters come to be pleaded in courts of equity.

The king, our master, with all his sweet plants, are in good estate, and as likely, when time comes, to give life and comfort to this State, as his own virtues, *cum bono genio*, have given safety to both monarchies. The Lower House, like to their antecessors, like young coursers, are sometimes apt to bound and play upon the back. But as their first attempts are for the greatest part most fiery, so doubt I not but that by that time that [they have] looked with discretion into the grounds of strife, and withal considered how ill this humour suits with the circumstances of the present time both at home and abroad, they will sound the retreat, and rather seek to serve the State, which must continue, than to please those humours that are only constant in levity. The catching of our long-concealed Jesuits, even at the very time when some of the lords should have been called to the Star Chamber, was the cause of putting off the day, that, according to the circumstances that happen in the mean time, matters may be both managed and tempered.

Because my leisure serves me not to write often, I have been content to cloy your stomach in such sort, at one swallow, with a mass of crude and indigested lumps, as for a good while after you will take no great delight to taste any thing that comes out of my cookery. But this is my manner of dealing with my friends in the plainest manner, and therefore make account, that time shall never change or alter any of those plain and true affections that nature bred in me. To your lordship I wish what I doubt not others will assist and further—that is, the reward of your own merit; and withal assure you, that so far as the talent of my credit may be tendered or engaged for your good, it shall never rest in a concavity.

I pray your lordship tell my Lord Arundel, that the king perused the last letter that he sent to me with no sharp word or countenance acknowledging any tartness in his mind; though, on the other side, I cannot say that he spake any thing to show favour. My lord's wise carriage continued in the place wherein he serves for the proof of his own true affection, may prevail more than flourishes.

Mr. Clement Edmondes¹ to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

March 6, 1605-6.

I know you have heard how busy they are here in parliament, and what time there hath been spent in devising laws for suppressing recusants, which are at length perfected in their several heads, and agreed upon by both Houses. And if the execution be answerable to the intent of the lawmakers, there will no doubt be found provision enough against that sort of people, how effectual otherwise soever it may prove. The question now in hand is matter of purveyance, which doth not a little trouble both Houses, being an argument, as you may remember, that is likely to be both urged and maintained with stiffness; which with other occasions may haply draw on the parliament until Easter.

It was never believed here, that your fugitive conspirators in those parts would be sent over into England; for that the long acquaintance which they have had with the secrets of those States was too much to be known here. But we speak generally of the singular carriage, which you showed in that business; and how well you acquitted yourself therein, which hath added much honour to your former worth. I know not what the cause is, but your correspondent Leiger here, or at least some of his people, seem doubtful of their stay with us for any time; for in divers bargains which they have gone about to make, they put in a condition "if they stay." And if they do

¹ He was born in Shropshire, and educated in the University of Oxford, being elected Fellow of All Souls' College. He was remembrancer of the city of London, one of the masters of the Requests, and of the clerks of the council. He was knighted in 1617, and died October 12, 1622.

not stay, then I think we shall see you shortly. Howsoever, there is an ambassador come hither out of Spain, who in likelihood will conclude something concerning those fugitives that are in hold with you, and give what satisfaction he may in such things which may hold out the peace. Sir Francis Vere is at the Brill,¹ and in speech of entertainment with the States; but as yet nothing is concluded between them, howsoever there is an expectation of an agreement very shortly. He demanded the command of the English and Scottish horse and foot; to be marshal of the field, and in lieu of the Brill to have the Stathold of Guelders, which the State could willingly afford him, or as much otherwise to give satisfaction. Yet the jealousy which the House of Nassau hath of Sir Francis Vere, of whom Count Maurice speaketh much good, but giveth little furtherance in the business, maketh the States to temporize awhile, until occasion may be offered either by his excellency, or out of the necessity of their affairs, which is now coming on, to draw him again into the service. But for levies which he should make here, I know none at all, saving only such few stragglers as are taken up in Paul's and elsewhere about the streets, by their own officers, to reinforce their troops. And albeit Sir Horatio Vere² hath lain here these two months to give assistance in that service, yet of mine own knowledge he hath found no help at all in it, either in the court or the city.

One of those priests that were taken at Abington's house in Worcestershire (of whom I doubt not but you have often heard) hath, within these two days, killed himself in the Tower by ripping up his belly with a blunt knife which he had to eat his meat. His name was Owen, born in Oxford, and was a servant to Garnet, the provincial Jesuit.

The news on our town-green is not worthy writing; 10 per cent. a good security: only Thomas Symondes hath got an office in court and is become the king's grosehead;

¹ Of which he was governor. The reader should refer to "The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere, being divers pieces of Service wherein he had command. Written by himself." Published in 1657.

² His younger brother, also a celebrated commander, subsequently created Baron Vere, of Tilbury.

and one Cockaine sent out a ship called the “ Merchant Royal,” this last summer, and got her to be entertained of the Duke of Florence to go against the Turks, in which service she took a great galleon of Constantinople of 1200 ton, called the “ Sultana,” and belonging to their queen-mother, richly laden at Alexandria with inestimable wealth ; in which fight were slain five hundred Turks and three hundred more brought to Leghorn ; the best of the goods taken out, and the rest sunk with the galleon. For which piece of service our merchants stand in doubt to lose all their goods in Turkey, and to be debarred of their trade in those parts : and Cockaine in the mean time lieth in the Fleet.

Sir Edward Hoby to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

March 7, 1605-6.

We understand that the Queen of France is delivered of a fair daughter. The Duke of Bouillon, as I hear, standeth but in ill terms with the king, never able to make his own peace, except he confess his fault, and submit himself to a pardon, and deliver up his town of Sedan to the king ; which he is resolved he will have howsoever.

The 15th of February the speaker of parliament having staid till past ten of the clock from the House, excused himself for that he had been with his majesty, bringing a message to the House of his majesty's gracious thanks to the whole House for their loving grant of Gratification the day before, in such form, as my last letter mentioned to your lordship : desiring that he might no longer live than to show himself a worthy head to such a body ; and farther declaring how ready his majesty was to remedy any grievances which the Commons found, especially the matter of purveyance, whereof they had then a bill in hand, but concluding that he prayed the House, since they had already affectionately entered with zeal of his service, that they would appoint a committee to hear such lords as his majesty would depute to deliver such reasons of weight as so nearly concerned the supply of his present estate. Whereby it seemed, that the former day's work, first propounded by Sir Thomas Ridgeway, and seconded by such like (for I

must tell you, that I think the State scorneth to have any privy counsellors of any understanding in that House) came short to expectation and necessity. Assent was given thereunto. The same day Sir Thomas Luke's bill for assurance of his land from Sir H. Lofre passed our House.

The 12th, and 13th, little was done more than reading of ordinary bills, and complaints of breaking of privileges, saving that order was given to such committees as were to attend the Lords' touching the king's motion, to hear what they would say, but by no means to reply, until relation first was made to the House. For my Lord of Hertford's cause, when the verdict was ready to be given up, Mr. Attorney interposed himself for the king, and said, that the land which they both strove for was the king's; and until his title were decided, the jury ought not to proceed, not doubting but the king will be gracious to both lords: but thereby both land and legitimation remained undecided.

The 14th, the great committee met with the Lords, where Hare delivered unto them a complaint out of sorrow and grief against the seed of the devil, namely, purveyors and officers of the green cloth. To which the Lords replied little more than that they would make relation to the House; and so entered into the affairs of the king, laying open his wants and occasions, thereby to move the Commons to have a further consideration. Only my Lord of Salisbury concluded, that they would think of our complaints, expecting that we would do the like of the king's wants.

The 15th, relation was made by the aforesaid committee by the Commons; but so was it carried, as the House stood much ill-affected towards the lord's carriage, and Hyde¹ yielded many reasons why we should not yield more unto the king than we had; with many invectives, and so far put the House in distaste, as that an expectation grew of the sequel. And if your lordship had heard them, you would have said that Hare and Hyde had represented the tribunes of the people.

At this time was much speech of a play in the Black

¹ Sir Nicholas Hyde, the father of Lord Clarendon.

Friars, where, in the "Isle of the Gulls,"¹ from the highest to the lowest, all men's parts were acted of two divers nations : as I understand sundry were committed to Bridewell. I have seen a French book how the Persian king is turned Christian : but for that it is pretended to be done by the miracle of an English Jesuit, I grow like Thomas Aquinas.

The 17th, and 18th, little was done in parliament more than conference between the Lords and Commons about articles against recusants; wherein the Lords stood very stiff, not to be tied to receive the communion twice a-year, the archbishop leaning on that side. The 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd, were spent in parliament about conference still with the Lords touching the bill of recusants and purveyors. But the Commons found themselves much grieved that Hare, whom they had heretofore employed to the Lords, had been so lordly taxed, as the House was informed; and by question cleared him in the House, resolving to send unto the Lords to that end with all conveniency. The House grew very severe against Sir Robert Leigh, justice of peace of Middlesex, for committing some of Sir Edwin Sandys's men : but upon his submission was content to yield him grace. Much debate likewise was had concerning the exemption of four shires from the marches of Wales, with many indignities uttered against that council. About the same time grew a difference between two lords of the Upper House, who by chance met together in the king's little chamber there, namely, Devon² and Rich. Foul words passed, and the lie, as I am informed, given to Devon. The event is in expectation. Sir John Fortescue is chosen knight of the shire of Middlesex in Sir Robert Wroth's room.

The 24th of February, Sir Edward Hoby was married to a sister of the Lord Danvers. The same day Sir John Fortescue appeared in the Parliament House. The 25th, and 26th, little was done to purpose, but some conference had with the Lords upon a bill to pass the House of Com-

¹ A comedy written by Mr. John Day, of Caius College, Cambridge.

² Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire.

mons; wherein the two Universities were named. Upon long debate in the House, and put to the question, which of the two, first should be named, Oxford won it by many voices.

Here is much speech of the death of Charles of Sweden; of an election towards¹ of a King of the Romans; and how the French king hath made a rendezvous of fifteen thousand men, against Sedan, and the Duke of Bouillon's affairs, to be ready the 20th of March next. The 25th of February, M. la Fontaine was married to another wife. The 28th of February, I was present when the post delivered a letter from Villeroy, dated the 4th of March, containing how that the Duke of Bouillon had confessed his faults, and asked absolution of the king, which the king was willing to grant upon condition that he would deliver up Sedan, and he should be received into grace and keep his entertainments: which the duke utterly refuseth; and, as by that letter it seemed, the king was to enter presently into the war. His letter farther importeth that since the apprehension of Winter, he had heard nothing out of England, and desires to understand whether the Englishmen were delivered from Brussels or no; which he seemed to doubt, in respect to the Spaniard. He did farther much complain that he had received no letters from de Jardin these two months, and very desirous to understand the proceeding of our Parliament. He farther certified that Monsieur de Crumeille was hourly expected at the court, and sent away with all expedition; and how Sir Thomas Parry was to come away the Monday or Tuesday following; wishing in his letter, that his successor might prove no more Spaniard than he was.

My Lord Grey's only brother is lately dead at Oxford of the smallpox; and so is Sir Francis Goodwin's eldest son; a great affliction added to the poor lord who is in the Tower.²

The 1st of March little passed worthy the writing to your lordship, but that the Commons, after long debate, resolved to send to confer with the Lords, to define the

¹ *i. e.* approaching.

² Lord Grey died in the Tower, July 6, 1614.

king's prerogative touching purveyance. It is said that Garnet, the provincial Jesuit, hath confessed very much, and to great purpose.

The 3rd of March was the first time that the House was divided, which was about a bill that no heads of houses in either University should have their wives in colleges; nor no man, hereafter, married, shall be capable to be head of a house. The Bill was gained by eighty voices at least. The 4th of March was famous in nothing more than bear and bull baiting at court, and the death of Sir Edward Fitton.

There is no matter yet in parliament, but time spent with conferences betwixt both Houses; the Commons no whit satisfied in their grievances, the king as little in his demands; being able as yet to write nothing unto you but distraction: much time spent to small purposes hitherto. Only the articles against the recusants are agreed upon, and a Bill in drawing. The rest of the parliament we have spent *inter fœdas species servitutis et falsas species libertatis*.

*The Earl of Salisbury to Sir Henry Wotton.*¹

June 16, 1606.

I have received your despatch, sent by Mr. Partridge, whose access I procured unto his majesty according to your desire, with the same testimony wherewith he came recommended from you unto me. His majesty used him graciously, as you shall better understand from himself; and was glad to hear, both by the relation of Mr. Partridge as also by your letters then, and since sent by Mr. Salter's, the merchant's, conveyance, of the present state of that commonwealth, in their protestation against the Pope's fulmination. Wherein, although his majesty highly commendeth their wisdom and courage in defending their honour against that usurped authority of Rome, and could wish the issue thereof might be correspondent unto the beginnings that they might be an example to all other Christian princes and States, that have subjected them-

¹ Then English ambassador at Venice: in which capacity he was frequently employed by James.

selves under that yoke; yet doth his majesty's own judgment persuade him, that, notwithstanding all the advantages which the State hath at this present, for their own safety and their strength in friends and treasure, answerable to the greatness of the enterprise, there will be some means wrought by mediation of others for private ends to reduce that divided number again, rather than it shall bring the whole body into danger. Whereof, though it is likely we shall see the event shortly, either one way or other, yet his majesty expecteth still to be advertised from you how things proceed, in which he shall take pleasure as he hath done, though he will not flatter himself with great hopes, because his opinion is adverse to his desire; and if better come, he will take it for lucre.

For the state of businesses here, you shall understand that the parliament is prorogued until the 16th of November, the last session being finished the 27th of the last month; wherein his majesty hath obtained his own ends, being just and necessary; and also granted them theirs, which were reasonable, although not without some dispute of all sides; a matter not unusual in such an assembly, where there are both variety of opinions and desires, and such a liberty for every man to speak what he liketh.

Some acts have been made against papists, which I cannot so properly term new laws, but rather explanations and directions for the better execution of former laws, which were in force against them, whereof they had always some shift or other to avoid the danger, and make frustrate the true meaning and intention, of which defects, seeing the consequence grew so dangerous (as was found by experience), it was thought most necessary to provide for the execution of them, the additions being only in some cases, as an oath of allegiance to all, that will serve abroad, the contents whereof I sent you, which, in truth, is less than the supremacy. But, by this means, either those that go to serve Catholic princes, will be of better affection than they have been hitherto; or else they must stay behind. In which degree, if the archduke should suspect that this were done the rather to clog the going over of their succours from hence, I think no indifferent

judgment could blame the king, though he restrain none. If he do take no pleasure to suffer a seminary of his people to increase there, when he sees of what sort they are that go, and by what ministers they are governed there, viz., Mr. Owen, Baldwyn, and Stanley. For surely, sir (to tell you plainly), so clear and apparent is now the hatred of almost all those of that profession to the present government of this church and commonwealth, and so envious are they of the long blessings of peace and plenty which God hath bestowed upon our nation these many years in the true profession of the Gospel, as they have not only sought by all overt means to practise the destruction thereof, but their masters and rabbins, the Jesuits, who are now become the only firebrands of Christendom, have and do continually seek to corrupt the very souls and consciences of his majesty's simpler sort of subjects with this detestable doctrine, that they may not stick at rebellion and conspiracy when they are summoned to it for the good of the church: insomuch as his majesty, who would gladly put a difference in the dispensation of mercy and favour between * * * [The conclusion has not been preserved.]

Mr. Pory to Sir Robert Cotton.

August 12, 1606.

On Sunday the kings,¹ queen, and prince, lying the night before in the bishop's palace at Rochester, had a Latin sermon in the cathedral church preached by Dr. Parry,² who delivered so good matter with so good a grace, as their majesties were very well pleased to hear him. His text was, "Fac judicium, et videtis faciem Domine." The sermon ended, they took their barges at Rochester bridge, and so row for the space of two miles along the galleys, ships, and pinnaces, viewing them as they lay, till they came-to against Upnor Castle. There they mounted the Elizabeth James, in which their dinner

¹ James I. and Christian IV., King of Denmark, brother of Queen Anne.

² Henry Parry, D.D., chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, Dean of Chester in 1605, Bishop of Gloucester in 1607, and translated to the see of Worcester in 1610. He died December 12, 1616.

was provided. This ship was joined by a bridge founded upon masts, and railed on each side, being two hundred feet long, to the Bear, which was fitted in all points for the entertainment of the Danish lords and others. Between both these royal ships lay a hulk, which served for a kitchen to both. In the Elizabeth, the great chamber being part of the upper deck abaft the mainmast, contained a long table for my lord chamberlain and other of our English lords. The same deck before the mainmast had a table for the ladies. From whence, up a pair of stairs, there was a passage unto the Orelope, where was a fair tent set up, lined and hanged, the inside with silks and cloths of gold; at the upper end whereof, under a rich cloth of state, sat the kings, the queen, and prince, at dinner.

Some hour after they had dined, they took coach at Upnor Castle, on the shore towards Gravesend: and, having gone some three quarters of a mile, they made a stand upon a Windmill Hill, whence they might perfectly view all the whole navy. Then began the galleys next the bridge to discharge, and after them all the pinnaces and ships in order as they lay, to the number of 1008 great shot. This thunder made such music in the King of Denmark's ears, as he told the king, if he had spent half his kingdom in a banquet, he could not have contented him so well: and farther, that in requital he gave himself and his heart to do the king, as long as he lived, all friendly offices, both in word and deed. Whereto the king answered, that never any man was to him so welcome as the King of Denmark, nor ever should any till he came again.

Yesterday, being Monday morning, between seven and eight of the clock, the King of Denmark returned to his fleet, lying at Gravesend, to make all things ready against the king and queen should come aboard. About eleven, they ascended the admiral of Denmark, and not above fifty persons were admitted aboard. At every health, there were from the ships of Denmark and the forts some three or four score great shot discharged, and of these

thundering volleys there were between forty and fifty. You would have thought that Jupiter had been invited. About four of the clock in the afternoon, the King of Denmark presented to the king a beautiful and well-contrived firework. It stood upon a lighter, being in form of a square conduit or cube, with four pillars answering the four corners. Upon the top of this cube stood a lion, with a chain in his hand, which fettered eight capital Vices, that sat underneath upon the angles and sides of this cube or *arc*.

This firework very methodically, one part after another, continued burning and cracking for the space of three quarters of an hour: which being consumed, the kings, with tears in their eyes, and most ardent demonstrations of their mutual affections, took their leaves. The gifts that the king hath bestowed upon the King of Denmark, were a sword and hanger, valued at £17,000. Item, a cup of £5000. Item, to the King of Denmark's council, plate to the value of £2000. Item, to his gentlemen, two chains of gold to the same value: and to the inferior Danes, £1000 in money. The King of Denmark in his gifts hath not been inferior; for he hath given in court 30,000 dollars: viz., to the household beneath the stairs, 15,000 dollars; and the officers above the stairs, 20,000; and to the equerry, or stabler, 5000 dollars. Besides, to every one of the king's and queen's bedchamber he hath given jewels of great value. On the queen he hath bestowed his picture, richly set with jewels; and on the prince his vice-admiral and best fighting ship, being, with all her furnitures, not less worth than £25,000, and a rapier and hanger, valued at 20,000 marks: besides all which, he hath bestowed liberally upon the navy, &c.

To attend his majesty on his way homeward, Sir Robert Mansell is appointed with the Vanguard and the Moon.

Sir Edward Michelbourne hath cleared himself with great honour.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq., at Eton.

London, July 26, 1607.

The king went home yesterday,¹ in the afternoon, which old courtiers say is *contra usum suum*; and the Puritans think it a matter of no good example.

The States took their leave yesterday, and shall be presented with chains of five or six hundred crowns a-piece; they are feasted this day by the merchant adventurers, at Mercers' Chapel, and the last week by the sheriff. But their best entertainment was at Merchant Tailors' feast, on Thursday, where they met the king, and were placed next the prince, with many other extraordinary favours. The queen was not there, though she was assuredly looked for, neither can there be any other reason imagined of her failing but their presence. They have not yet seen her, nor can get access, though they have sought it more than once. In all other things they speed well enough, insomuch that the Spanish ambassador is ready to burst to see them so graced. And yet they were never so near to be friends, for the aggregation is come from Spain, as you shall perceive by this enclosed, sent from Spinola to the States. The long stay of it perplexed the archduke and him very much, so that not past two days before the coming of this ratification, the one despatched the friar, John de Neyen, and the other his captain, Aurelis, into Spain, to procure it by all possible means. This extreme urging and soliciting makes most men think that *latet anguis in herbá*. And yet the peace is held in a manner perfected already, otherwise the world holds the Spaniard would never have condescended to the first condition.

On Friday, the Earl of Arundel's son² was christened in the chapel at court, the king and lord chancellor being godfathers, with the Lady Arabella, in the name of the old Countess of Shrewsbury. Sir Francis Bacon hath lost two of his choice men, that despatched one another in

¹ Sunday.

² James Lord Mowbray and Maltravers, K.B.

the field, but I know not their names nor the manner. Sir Ralph Winwood means to be at Windsor some time this week.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.¹

London, January 5, 1607-8.

The masque goes forward at court for Twelfth-day, though I doubt the new room will be scant ready. All the holidays there were plays, but with so little concourse of strangers, that they say they wanted company. The king was very earnest to have one on Christmas night, though, as I take it, he and the prince received that day, but the Lords told him it was not the fashion. Which answer pleased him not a whit, but said, "What do you tell me of the fashion? I will make it a fashion." Yesterday he dined in the presence in great pomp, with two rich cupboards of plate, the one gold, the other that of the House of Burgundy, pawned to Queen Elizabeth by the House of Brabant, and hath seldom been seen abroad, being exceedingly massy, fair, and sumptuous. I could learn no reason of this extraordinary bravery, but that he would show himself in glory to certain Scots, who were never here before,² as they say—there be many lately come, and that the court is full of new and strange faces.

Yesternight there were to be shown certain rare fireworks, by a Dane, two Dutchmen, and Sir Thomas Challoner in concert.

Mr. Fuller³ is in hope to come forth this day. His own weakness and want of judgment hath been his greatest enemy; for, having subscribed his subscription, and sent it to the archbishop, by the persuasion of his wife and

¹ Then at Sir Rowland Lytton's, at Knebworth, in Hertfordshire, now the seat of his gifted descendant, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart.

² The king was very fond of astonishing his poor countrymen in this way.

³ Nicholas Fuller, barrister, of Gray's Inn, author of an Argument in the case of John and Richard Maunsell, his clients, proving that ecclesiastical commissioners have not power, by virtue of their commission, to imprison, to put to the oath, *ex officio*, or to fine any of his majesty's subjects. Printed at London, 1607, 4to. This occasioned him to be imprisoned by Archbishop Bancroft, and he died in confinement February 23, 1619, aged seventy-six years.

others, he hath afterwards sought to recall it, and feigned himself sick in bed when he should come to the tilt. His puritan brethren, likewise, have not dealt well with him, in getting letters from him of all the proceedings, and copies of his argument, which they have printed to his great prejudice; and, in truth, he were like to be shrewdly handled, but that they see him such a weathercock, that turns with every blast, and so in some sort pity him. But now his best friends have so advised him, that he says he will stand to his submission, and confess his errors.

Touching the freezing of the Thames, I may write you it was, and it was not; for on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at low water, the ice clustering together, divers scrambled over, and some fell in. But when the tide came, it scattered those islands of ice all over, so that boats passed up and down; and from that time, for aught I can discern, there is more water to be seen than ice.

I am sorry Sir Rowland Lytton is so crazy.¹ I pray you tell him I wrote the last week to Farley,² by the persuasion of my cousin Rokeby, who would needs have me try that dry-handed knight for a Doe against our funeral, the 13th of this present. I am much busied and troubled about it with Mr. Clarencieux,³ and otherwise; but if I might have had my will, there should have been less ado—for of all things I love not show nor ostentation; but there be so many precedents, of very fresh date, of his equals and inferiors, that it could not be well avoided. But the worst is, the charge will be very great, and riseth above a thousand marks, which is too much for a private man. I do every day more and more commend my good fortune, rather than my judgment, in refusing the executorship: which is such a labyrinth, that I doubt I should never have found the way out.

All Sunday it was current that the parliament did hold, but now the voice runs otherwise.

¹ In ill health.

² The seat of Sir Henry Wallop, in Hampshire.

³ William Camden, author of "*Britannia*," "*Annales*," and other works.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, January 8, 1607-8.

We had great hopes of having you here this day, and then I would not have given my part of the masque for any of their places that shall be present, for I suppose you and your lady would find easily passage, being so befriended; for the show is put off till Sunday, by reason all things are not ready. Whatsoever the device may be, and what success they may have in their dancing, yet you should have been sure to have seen great riches in jewels, when one lady, and that under a baroness, is said to be furnished for better than a hundred thousand pounds. And the Lady Arabella goes beyond her; and the queen must not come behind.

On Twelfth Eve, there was great golden play at court. No gamester admitted that brought not £300, at least. Montgomery played the king's money, and won him £150, which he had for his labour; the Lord Monteagle lost the queen £400; Sir Robert Carey, for the prince, £300; the Earl of Salisbury, £300; the Lord Buckhurst, £500; *et sic de cæteris*; so that I heard of no winners but the king and Sir Francis Wholley, who got above £800. The king went a hawking journey yesterday to Theobalds, and returns to-morrow.

Above Westminster the Thames is quite frozen over, and the archbishop came from Lambeth on Twelfth-day over the ice to court. Many fantastical experiments are daily put in practice, as certain youths burnt a gallon of wine upon the ice, and made all the passengers partakers.

Mr. Fuller came forth of the Tower on Monday, very frolic, and also joyful that he would not lose so much time from home as to go about, but would not needs pass over the river on foot, having kissed the rod, and made his submission, *modo et formâ*. We had plenty of preaching here this Christmas. The bishop¹ and the dean² performed their parts very well, and Dr. Pasfield;³ but your

¹ Dr. Thomas Davis.

² Dr. John Overall.

³ Dr. Zachariah Pasfield, D.D., chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, and Dean of Bocking.

brother Dove¹ swept the scriptures together upon heaps, as one told me in that very phrase. The archduke's commissioners are said to be at the Hague already—Aremberg, Richardet, the friar Ney, Veneyker, a Spaniard or two, all to the number of seven or eight. There is fasting and prayer in Holland for the good success, as likewise general processions all over on the other side.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq., at Eton.

London, February 11, 1607-8.

Your friend, Tobie Matthew,² was called before the council-table on Sunday, in the afternoon, and after some schooling, the Earl of Salisbury told him that he was privy to his imprisonment, which he did no ways approve, as presuming that so light a punishment would make him rather more proud and perverse. But in conclusion, they allowed him five weeks' space to set his affairs in order and depart the realm, and in the mean time willed him to make choice of some friend of good account, and well affected, where he may remain. He named Mr. Jones, who has accepted, and is not a little proud of his prisoner. He was no sooner gone, nor his nest scant cold, when Henry Constable was committed in his room, and nestles in the same lodging. One Richard Carey is likewise clapped up, accused to be the dispenser and distributor of the Papists' benevolence, and that for great sums.

I can send you no perfect relation of the marriage³ nor masque on Tuesday, only they say all, but especially the motions, were well performed: as Venus, with her chariot drawn by swans, coming in a cloud to seek her son; who with his companions, Lusus, Risus, and Janus, and four

¹ John Dove, D.D., advanced at Westminster School and Christ Church. He was author of several books, and died in April, 1618.

² In a letter to the lord treasurer, he had expressed his disapprobation of the king's spending so much of his time in hunting.

³ Of John Ramsay, Viscount Hadington, with Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, Earl of Sussex. Lord Hadington had been instrumental to the escape of James from the Gowry conspiracy; and was in 1620 created a peer of England by the title of Baron of Kingston-upon-Thames and Earl of Holderness. He died in February, 1625.

or five more wags, were dancing a matachina, and acted it very antequely before the twelve signs, who were the master masquers, descended from the zodiac, and played their parts more gravely, being very gracefully attired. The bride dined in state, accompanied by the prince, the young duke, and Lady Elizabeth, the Countess of Oxford, the Dukes of Saxony, and other States, to furnish the table. In the midst of the dinner, the king drank a carouse in a cup of gold, which he sent to the bride, together with a bason and ewer, two livery pots, and three standing cups, all very fair and massy, of silver and gilt, and withal a patent for a pension of £600 a-year out of the exchequer to the longest liver of them : with this message, that he wished them so much comfort all their life, as he received that day he delivered him from the danger of [Gowry]. Many other great presents there were of plate sent from all sides ; but Dunbar's went beyond all, being valued between four and five hundred pounds.

The treaty of peace goes on apace in the Low Countries. Spinola at their first meeting made a large speech in commendation of peace, and touching the discommodities of war, persuading them to embrace this fair offer, now made them by the King of Spain, who had descended so far as to treat with them as free States : though he hoped they would not take such hold of it, nor forget him, themselves, nor the ancient benefits they had received from the House of Burgundy, so far as to renounce all dependence ; and that he had brought with him power to perform, and security to maintain what should be agreed upon. But for all these fair words, the States stood firm to have the point of sovereignty cleared before they would proceed any further ; which, we hear, was condescended to at the next session, and that in so free and ample manner, as that the King of Spain nor archduke shall not so much as bear the arms of these provinces. The next article is about the trading into the East Indies ; whence there is late news come, that the Hollanders have taken Malacca, a place of great importance in those parts, and this point, it is thought, will not be soon ended. The second proposal is about the exchange of towns and confines, which

it is thought will be a matter of much difficulty, because Linghen and Groll, and those other small places in Guelderland, will not answer or countervail Sluys; Bergen op Zoom and Breda demanded by the other side. But the hardest of all will be the free exercise of Popish religion in the United Provinces, which it is said will be resolutely stood on, *pro et contra*, on both sides. The negociators sit at a board by themselves, and the ambassadors and commissioners of France, England, Denmark, and other princes, sit looking on, and as it were giving aim, at another table. Many libels run up and down in this business, and the archduke's people themselves are nothing pleased with their actors, as you may see by this babble in the margin. They talk of divers prodigies, as well in these parts as in Holland, but specially airstones; the bell in his house doth often ring out two or three hours together when nobody is near it, and when it is expressly watched; and the grates and bars of his windows are continually hammered and battered, as if there were a smith's forge, which hath almost put him out of his wits.

We hear out of Italy, that the Pope hath expressly commanded Sir Robert Dudley¹ to forsake his mistress, who, they say, hath been with child, and miscarried five times within the year. It is said likewise that Montpensier is dead in France, and left but one daughter.

I think it is no news to you that this cold weather

¹ He was the son of Elizabeth's celebrated favourite, the Earl of Leicester, by his second wife, the Dowager Lady Sheffield, and was born at Sheen in 1573. He was educated at Christ's College, Oxford, where was laid the foundation of those talents he afterwards so prominently exhibited; but he soon showed that he was far more anxious for adventure than for study; and his father having left him ample resources, he fitted out a naval expedition, in which he sailed to the Oronooko, with the intention of rivalling the exploits of his countrymen on the Spanish Main. He made some captures from the Spaniards, and returned home in time to join Essex's expedition against Cadiz, in which he so distinguished himself as to receive the honour of knighthood. After the queen's death, as with other men of his spirit, his occupation seemed gone, and in the year 1605 he got involved in lawsuits, and in some other discreditable proceedings, which occasioned his flight from England to Italy, sentence of outlawry to be recorded against him, and the forfeiture of his estates. He resided at Florence, taking the title of the Earl of Warwick, and held the post of chamberlain to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. He was made a duke of the Holy Roman Empire, which induced him to assume the title of Duke of Northumberland. He employed himself in many literary undertakings, the most celebrated of which was the manuscript which subsequently occasioned so much trouble to Sir Robert Cotton. He was also the author of an important work, published at Florence in 1630-46, under the title of "*Arcana del Mare*," in two vols. folio. He died in 1639.

hath carried away Dr. Bond;¹ and that Dr. Harding,² or Dr. Finley,³ are like to succeed him in Magdalen's, and Dr. Hewson in his parsonage of Brightwell.⁴

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, July 7, 1608.

On Tuesday I went with the Lady Fanshaw, and other good company, to visit Cope⁵ Castle, at Kensington, and, calling in at the Strand, we took the little Betty⁶ and the infant Norris along with us. We had the honour to see all, but touch nothing, not so much as a cherry, which are charily preserved for the queen's coming. I took my leave of him yesterday; and upon some mention of you he made this short reply, that your books were very well accepted, and that he would ever slip no opportunity to do you service. He grows more and more into the great lord;⁷ and it is conceived that if any place should fall, whereof Sir Cæsar⁸ were capable, he should presently step into his room, and bear the burden of the Exchequer business.

The new Bourse at Durham House goes up apace, where the citizens, and specially the Exchange men, begin to grumble, foreseeing that it will be very prejudicial and mar their market, and thereupon have made a petition to the lord mayor to provide, *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiet*. This petition, with the reasons, being sent to his lordship,⁹ doth nothing please him; but all the answer he makes yet is, that Westminster being the place where he was born, and of his abode, he sees not but that he may seek to benefit and beautify it by all the means he can.

The marriage of the young Lord Cranbourne¹⁰ with the

¹ President of Magdalen College, in Oxford.

² John Harding, D.D., who succeeded Dr. Bond as president.

³ Robert Finley, D.D., who became about this time vicar of Witham, in Essex, and was afterwards archdeacon of Ely.

⁴ In Oxfordshire.

⁵ Probably the house of Sir Walter Cope.

⁶ Isabella, daughter of Sir W. Cope, married afterwards to Sir Henry Rich.

⁷ The Earl of Salisbury, lord treasurer.

⁸ Sir Julius Cæsar, then chancellor of the Exchequer.

⁹ The Earl of Salisbury, by whom this new Exchange was built, and called Britain's Bourse.

¹⁰ William, only son of Cecil Earl of Salisbury.

lord chamberlain's daughter is thoroughly concluded, and the books sealed.

Staples, one of our great merchants, died the last week very suddenly, as he was sitting down to supper, and Sir John Gilbert¹ two days since of the smallpox.

Here is a ship newly come from Virginia that hath been long missing. She went out the last year, in concert with Captain Newport, and, after much wandering, found the port three or four days after his departure for England. I hear not of any novelties or other commodities she hath brought more than sweet wood.

Sir Horace Vere, coming out of the Low Countries to conduct his lady, met her on Saturday at Rochester, and went back presently.

These contracts and cross marriages 'twixt France and Spain trouble both them and us, for it is certainly given out that the second son of Spain shall marry the daughter of France, and they, too, shall be invested in the Low Countries, and sent thither to be brought up as heirs and successors to the archduke and infanta. And the French king must do his best to reconcile the disjointed provinces; for which respect, and for relinquishing his pretences to Navarre, Naples, Milan, and the rest, he shall be put in present possession of the dukedom of Luxembourg. And for a marriage to be made 'twixt the Duke of Guise and a daughter of Savoy, the King of Spain gives his niece, La Franche Comté, and the French king restores Bresse.

The Progress holds on towards Northamptonshire, as unwelcome to those parts as rain in harvest, so as the great ones begin to dislodge: the Lord Spenser,² to his daughter, Vane,³ in Kent; and divers other gentlemen devise other errands other ways.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, October 21, 1608.

Our weekly bill little abated, not past 11 in all; the whole number being 247; of the sickness, 127.

¹ Probably the half brother of Sir Walter Raleigh.

² Robert.

³ Elizabeth, married to Sir George Fane, of Baston, in Kent.

There was a nest or assembly of Brownists discovered on Sunday about Finsbury, whereof five or six and thirty were apprehended, with their preacher, one Trundle, that used to exercise at Christ's Church.

We say that the Bishop of Chichester¹ is appointed to answer Bellarmine² about the oath of allegiance, which task I doubt how he will undertake and perform, being so contrary to his disposition and course to meddle with controversies.

There is great means used for Molle, the Lord St. John's and Lord Roos' tutor, as well by the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors as by the French king, which, if they prevail not, it is thought some priests shall fare the worse, and pay the reckoning. But it will go the harder with him, for that he hath translated and set out some piece of Plessis' in English.

The Duke of Mantua came from Brussels to the Hague, so to Haarlem, Amsterdam, and all over Holland, whence we hear nothing but that Sir Richard Spencer is coming away; his carriages be arrived already, with four goodly bay mares, and four grey, which I take to be rather for presents than for his own store. Barnevelt had almost lost his credit by juggling in this treaty, but recovered it again by standing so resolutely for religion.

Pestilent fevers are very frequent all over Italy; they write that at Rome there have died this summer almost twenty thousand.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, October 28, 1608.

Sir Thomas Stukely is newly come, and being in hand to let his house, lodgeth without Cripplegate. Methinks he is somewhat out of countenance with his mother-in-law's marriage. Here is likewise Sir Peter Eure, a father of four children in five years, and very shortly here will be Sir Michael Dormer, Mr. Gent, and Tom Allen;³ and towards the end of the week, Sir Rowland Lytton and Mr. William Borlase, by appointment. So that, if you

¹ Dr. Andrews.

² Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. See p. 198.

³ Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; a great and universal scholar. He died September 30, 1632, at the age of thirty.

have any errands or inclination hitherward, you may be sure to meet with a whole knot of good fellowship.

I doubt not but you have heard that the Lord Elphinston,¹ alias Balmerino, chief secretary or president in Scotland, was lately sent from the king to the council, and by them committed to his lodgings, about a letter written long since to the Pope for the making of a Scottish cardinal; which letter Bellarmin's chaplain charges the king withal in his late answer to the apology for the oath. But the king disavows it, and says if there be any such, it was foisted in by his secretary without his knowledge. But he seems to stand in contestation that it was done by his commandment. Once it is likely to prove Davidson's lease, but we are bound to believe the best.

I hear a muttering of a bill put into the Exchequer or some other court, concerning much land that, by reason of pretended bastardy in Queen Elizabeth, should descend to divers persons. The chief actors named are Lady Arabella, St. Leger of the West, and others. If there be any such thing, methinks the whole State should prevent and resent such an indignity.² Here is a speech likewise that there is a subsidy, or somewhat else, due upon every knight's fee throughout England, in February next, when the prince comes to fifteen years old, towards making him a knight.

The new King of Hungary keeps not touch with those of Austria about liberty of conscience. Whereupon new troubles are like to rise, and the Hungarians have sent him word that if he keeps not promise with their confederates, they will never receive nor crown him their king.

Some say there is a truce for seven or ten years in the Low Countries, but I can learn no certainty of it, more than that six provinces are indifferent, or rather for it, and only Zealand directly against it. Yet the States levy men in Germany, and there be 800 Gascoignes at Dieppe, attending for passage into Holland.

¹ Sir James Elphinstone Lord Balmerino. He was sentenced to death for writing the letter mentioned in the text, but was pardoned by the king, whose disavowal very few believed. He died in 1612.

² We think so too.

The attorneyship of the Court of Wards lies between Serjeant Nicholls and Sir James Leigh, late chief justice in Ireland.

The queen came to Whitehall the last three weeks, and the king is looked for to-morrow or on Monday.

Our bill was this week 240 in all; of the sickness, 102.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, November 8, 1608.

I have neither been idle nor greatly well occupied about your business with master,¹ and yet I have made three or four errands to find him at leisure, but all in vain. So that I was fain to take him by snatches, and gather up his curtal cursory answers by piecemeal. The effect is that there is no sign of removing those that are now employed, but that matters stand at a stay; that he understands nothing of Levinus,² nor that he is designed to that place, where, by the way, he entered into a great commendation of his honesty and sufficiency. That, as occasion served, he would not be wanting nor unmindful of you, and to that purpose, had not let slip any opportunity of putting my lord³ in mind of you, and comparing you with any of those abroad, and so fell upon that story I told you of, from Sir Hugh Beeston. This is the all and sum that I had from him, the weight and worth whereof I leave to your consideration.

On Thursday, his lady was visited by the Lady Fanshawe, to see her daughters dance, upon speech of entertaining Rawlins to teach Mrs. Betty. But her censure was partial on her own side, and thought her daughter did best, when, God knows, she rather hopped like a jackdaw, than showed any decent or graceful carriage.

The Countess of Derby³ and the Lady Norris come to town to-morrow, and bring the lord treasurer's daughter

¹ Sir Walter Cope.

² Muncke, one of the secretaries of the Earl of Salisbury; he was a Dutchman, who came young into England.—*Winwood Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 1187.

³ Salisbury.

⁴ Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

with them, to be matched, as is thought, with the young Lord Buckhurst. They are to lie at Rutland House, but the Lady Norris desires to lodge at the Lady Cope's, which shows, methinks, that there is no great soundness between the sisters. The young Lord Cranbourne is going into France before Christmas, but yet shall marry privately before he go. Dr. Lister¹ and one Finett,² a traveller of no note or account, but only preferred by Dr. Wilson, are to be his guides.

Elphinston, or Balmerino, is come now to acknowledge the fraud, and says that, seeing he or the king's honour must bleed, he will rather lay down his head, and confesseth how he got the king's hand by cunning and surruption, which confession may chance deserve absolution.

The king hath had two or three conferences of late with the judges about prohibitions, as well touching the clergy and high commission, as the courts of York and Wales, which prohibitions he would fain cut off, and stretch his prerogative to the uttermost. The judges stand well yet to their tackling; but *finis coronat opus*.

The four shires lately disjoined, are now to be newly annexed to the jurisdiction of Wales.

We hear that Sir Thomas Edmondes hath lately played the part of a *tall gentleman*,³ rather than of a grave ambassador, in drawing upon Sir Edward Bainham for the little respect he used towards him.

The States are divided into three factions: the first would have no manner of peace nor truce; the second would have a truce, with certain reserved conditions; the third, whereof Barneveldt is chief, would take any conditions. But the worst is, that the commissioners, both French and English, seem to strive who shall show themselves most forward in the Spaniard's favour.

¹ Matthew Lister, M.D., afterwards physician to Queen Anne, wife of King James I., and to King Charles I., by whom he was knighted, in 1636. He died about 1657, aged ninety-two.

² Afterwards assistant-master of the ceremonies, and a knight. He died July 12, 1641, aged seventy. He wrote "*Fineti Philoxenus*;" on the reception of ambassadors, and translated from the French a work on the beginning, continuance, and decay of States.

³ A fashionable phrase of the period.

The 5th of this month, Dr. Tinley¹ preached at Paul's Cross,² and your vice-chancellor of Oxford,³ at the court, whose sermon was so well liked that we shall shortly have it in print.⁴

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, November 11, 1608.

I thank you for your remonstrance of the French clergy, which will give me occasion perhaps to visit the good Bishop of Chichester,⁵ though I doubt he be not at leisure for any bye matters; the king doth so hasten and spur him on in this business of Bellarmine's, which he were likely to perform very well (as I hear by them that can judge) if he might take his own time, and not be troubled nor entangled with arguments obtruded to him continually by the king, who is somewhat pleased with a late accident fallen into Scotland, where one Sprott, being to be executed for some other matter, confessed somewhat touching Gowry's conspiracy, that makes it hang more handsomely together.

The truce goes on for certain in the Low Countries for ten years, with all reasonable satisfaction to the States in matter of sovereignty, religion, and traffic, but the men of war oppose mightily against it. The Prince of Orange is come into Holland to see his brother, and manage some other business of his own.

Le Seur is coming from Florence *re infectâ*, and a Marquis of Malespina from thence to this court, with compliments about the marriage that is already solemnized there with the assistance of six or seven cardinals, and numbers of princes and great men. The charge and entertainment is said to be royal, and such as becomes one that affects and stands to be made King of Tuscany.

¹ Robert Tinley, D.D., vicar of Witham, in Essex, and prebendary of St. Paul's. He died at Witham, December 21, 1616.

² His sermon was published at London, in 1609, entitled, "Of the Mischief, Subtlety, and Barbarous Cruelty of the Romish Synagogue." Psalm cxxiv., 1, 8.

³ Dr. John King, dean of Christchurch.

⁴ It was printed at Oxford, 1608, 4to.; the text was Psalm xi., 2, 3, 4.

⁵ Dr. Andrews.

Pasquill at Rome says that the King of Spain hath made his will, and bequeathed his brains to Italy, his body to the friars, his state to Lerina, and his house to Holland.

The Indian fleet is lately come home without any great noise of many millions.

On Wednesday the king pricked sheriffs. Francis Fortescu for your shire; Mr. Lambourn for Oxfordshire; Sir Richard Lovelace for Berkshire; Sir Richard Gifford for Hampshire; Nicholas Trot for Hertfordshire; your cousin Elwes for Northampton; *et sic de cæteris*.

Our bill is abated (thanks be to God) this week forty-seven in the whole number.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, December 16, 1608.

I have not been in the Strand¹ since I wrote last, for I doubt the very sight of me doth vex his little heart, and I would be loth to haunt him like a sprite; and when all is done, the answer and protestation he made admits no reply but to leave him to himself; and yet time must not be neglected, for if this next summer (as the report goes) Sir Ralph Winwood leave the Low Countries, Sir Thomas Edmondes go to France, and Sir Harry Wotton for Spain, you must *omnem movere lapidem* to step in upon those removes.

Here is speech (without writing) that the truce in the Low Countries is prolonged for four or five months, and if I have an inkling that our good friend there hath been too officious in advertising somewhat that might have been better dissembled.

We hear from Paris of one Borghese, a young fellow lately executed there, for giving himself out to be the Pope's bastard. The sentence was not given by any of the court of parliament, but by a master of Requests. Upon examination, he confessed that he never knew father or mother, but that his nurse ever told him that he was such a man's son, that he had been always well maintained,

¹ At Sir Walter Cope's.

but specially since this man came to the place had received great sums by unknown means, with a caveat never to come to Rome.

Peradventure, you have not heard that Sir Owen Oglethorpe is become a fresh widower, and that the old Lady Sheffield is dead.

Mr. Gent writes me that Sir Michael Dormer was busied in taking a fine of the Lord Norris to the use of his brother Francis's wife, Sir James Harrington's daughter, for her jointure, whereby you may see that the devil may be kind-hearted to somebody. Not long since he was dealt withal to be reconciled to his lady, and among other arguments it was alleged what support and friendship he might have from the great lord,¹ to which he answered with an oath, that unless he could do as the apostle did, cure him of his palsy, he neither needed nor cared for his friendship.

I come even now from reading a short discourse of Queen Elizabeth's life, written in Latin by Sir Francis Bacon. If you have not seen nor heard of it, it is worth your inquiry; and yet methinks he doth *langueseire* toward the end, and falls from his first pitch; neither dare I warrant that his Latin will abide test or touch.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, December 23, 1608.

We could not have Sir Rowland Lytton's company here according to appointment, by reason that as he was going to his coach, his eyes grew so sore that they could neither endure air nor light. So he sent his authority to me to conclude with Sir William Borlase what we should judge convenient for their youths.

I met Sir Walter Cope on Wednesday, in Paul's Churchyard, in his coach, and he did us the favour to stay (for my brother was with me), with whom he had conference upon money matters, being lately entered into a great bargain with the king for £5000 a-year in parsonages, besides £2000 a-year he had before. He and his consorts

¹ The Earl of Salisbury, whose niece was Lord Norris's wife.

are called the contractors, and have made shift for a great deal of money on the sudden, and yet, when all is done, the world thinks they will be no great gainers. I moved a word to him about you; his answer was, that he had you in remembrance to the lord,¹ for Venice, the Archduke, or the Low Countries; but answer was made it were too great a leap, and that it were more fit you should be first sent on some message. But your letter is not yet delivered, nor I think never will be; but he parts still with a fair protestation, that, as God shall judge him, he is as careful of you as his brother, whom, by the way, he hath now sent for up to undertake and underwrite with him.

The execution of Borghese is generally ill taken in France, as savouring too much of severity, for the sentence read at his death was only for usurping the name and arms of the family of Borghese, and the Nuncio himself says that if he had thought they would have used such rigour, he would not have prosecuted so far. There be many epigrams and jests made upon it, whereof I have only heard one in Latin.

The French king hath lately had a sore fit of the gout. Joyeuse, the Capuchin, is dead, coming from Rome, and the king deals earnestly with his daughter, the young widow of Montpensier, for the Prince of Condé. He is very angry with the constable for marrying his son to a great heir in Auvergne, and so preventing a match he meant with him for one of his daughters.

The Lord Cranbourne was met the 15th of this month between Montreuil and Abbeville, in very foul ways weather.

The king came to town on Tuesday, and the new-come Spaniard had audience the next day with all solemnity of king, queen, and all their children. But the matter seemed only compliment, and was done in less than half an hour.

It may be you have not heard that your countryman, Taverner, with one Cobbs and others, are in Norwich gaol, for robbing about the court in a coach and four horses, while the king lay at Hertford.

¹ Treasurer.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

January 3, 1608-9.

Upon occasion of letters from Will Lytton, I went to Sir Walter Cope on Saturday, who told me that his great lord and he had some conference about you the Wednesday before to this effect, that he meant you some good, but the question was *de modo*. But, in conclusion, nothing was concluded, for with this reservation the speech began, that nothing then said should bind. I forbear further particulars, in hopes to see you shortly, and so I told him when he said he was half minded to send you some instructions to set down in your next letter, for your last was not delivered by reason of the stale date. It may be Mr. Pory hath the same intelligence, and doth advertise you more at large. Yet methinks his grand master should not be so private and familiar with him as to make him privy to such business, unless, perhaps, being of the privy council with the lady, he may come by somewhat by that means.

We have had a dull and heavy Christmas hitherto, like the weather; no manner of delight nor lightsome news, only there have been plays at court, and the Spanish ambassadors were feasted there the last of the holidays. Le Seur is returned from Florence, *re infectâ*.

Secretary Davison¹ is said to be dead. Only Sir John Levison hath had good luck, and got his *quietus est* about the barrack business, which was composed in the nature of a suit in his son-in-law's name, Sir Edward Barret, who shall marry one of Sir Henry Carey's sisters.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, January 10, 1608-9.

Having lost some labour in going to the Strand, yet it was my hap to light on him yesterday, and imparted to him what you had written to me touching the opening of

¹ Secretary in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and after having been dismissed for hastening the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and heavily fined in the Star Chamber, published, in the reign of her successor, his well known justification, in which he contrived to throw all the odium of the act upon his sovereign. His son Francis published a volume of verses called "A Poetical Rhapsodie." A life of Secretary Davison has been written by Sir Harris Nicolas.

the lord's letter, and setting down his instructions in the way of marginal notes upon it. But he told me he had received a letter from you that gave him full satisfaction, being so well contented that it could not have been better with any advice or furtherance he could have given. Whereupon he showed it to his lord, who answered, *well, you know my mind*. Yet one thing I observe, that though our conference be neither often nor long, yet commonly at the end he comes in with your unlucky dependence,¹ at which straw he will stumble as if it were a great block. But now let me tell you, that there is a *sourd bruit* that he is in election, or rather near expectation to be secretary. But *credat Judæus Apellæ non ego*. And though you should believe the one half, I could not believe the other till I see it. And yet, considering the cause that is held, it is not impossible, though unlikely. But I must tell you withal, that my best author is Wymarke,² so that you may value it thereafter.

The great lord refused a world of New-year's gifts, and accepted very few, and those from near friends.

Sir Walter Raleigh's estate is fallen into the king's hands, by reason of a flaw in the conveyance, who hath bestowed it on Sir Robert Carr,³ who is likewise in speech to marry the Lady Anne Clifford.⁴ And though the Lady Raleigh have been an importunate suitor, all these holidays in her husband's behalf, yet it is past recall, so that he may say with Job: "Naked came I into the world, and naked will I go out." But above all, one thing is to be noticed, that the error or oversight is said to be so gross, that men do merely ascribe it to God's own hand, that blinded him and his counsel.⁵

¹ He probably means Mr. Carleton, having been secretary to the Earl of Northumberland.

² Edward Wymarke, whom Thomas Osborne, in his "Traditional Memoirs of King James," p. 7, stiles the Paul's walker and the witty.

³ Afterwards Viscount Rochester, Earl of Somerset.

⁴ Daughter and heiress of George Earl of Cumberland.

⁵ The Scottish Solomon, or, as Henri Quatre called him, "Solomon the son of David" [Rizzio], had recourse to a notable expedient, as we have elsewhere related, for deferring Raleigh's execution, worthy of his majesty's sagacity. But though the king was not in so great a hurry to take his life, he lost little time in plundering him of his property. The law officers of the crown were set upon his estate, in the conveyance of which, of course, they quickly discovered a flaw; for the sake of his child's inheritance, Raleigh made an eloquent appeal to the king's

The king went hence yesterday to Theobald's, and so to Royston, but no further at this time, being fallen out of love (they say) with Newmarket and Thetford.

The new-come Spaniard goes hither shortly to take his leave, being glad of the occasion to negotiate with him alone and at leisure. The treaty goes forward in the Low Countries, and that so fast, that whereas we have spurred them on hitherto, we would now fain hold them back with the bridle, and have them stick upon the point of sovereignty.

The masque at court is put off till Candlemas, as it is thought the Spaniard may be gone, for the French ambassador¹ hath been so long and so much neglected, that it is doubted more would not be well endured.

The lord chamberlain's² youngest and best beloved daughter died the other night, for all the physicians could do, of a pleurisy, which comes ill to pass for the Earl of Northumberland, to whose son they say she was destined, and so to be a means of his delivery. John Shore, that belongs to Sir Ralph Winwood, is lately fallen to the wind, and this Christmas hath married a wench about Canterbury.

The parliament is prorogued till the 10th of November.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, February 14, 1608-9. 1608-9

News here is none at all, but that John Donne³ seeks to be secretary at Virginia. The Pope hath written to the French king, complaining that our king misuseth him continually in table-talk, and calls him *Antichrist* at every

favourite, to whom the property was now given, and his wife on her knees and attended by her children tried to move the king; but the heart of the worthless minion was not to be touched by any appeal, and all the reply the poor woman obtained from her sovereign was the brutal ejaculation, "I maun ha' the land—I maun ha' it for Carr!" After this, Sir Walter was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, till he excited the cupidity of his royal jailer; but the produce of the promised gold mine in America not making its appearance, a pretext was soon found for dealing summarily with the defaulter, and he suffered decapitation, when he conducted himself as became so brave a soldier.

¹ Monsieur de la Boderie.

² The Earl of Suffolk.

³ Afterwards Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of St. Paul's.

word, which doth so incense his holiness, that some papists fear it may drive him to thunder and lighten with excommunication.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, February 21, 1608-9.

Here is no manner of news from abroad, but that our soldiers are in great hope that their long treaty will fall to the ground.

Don Pedro¹ de Toledo is returned to Spain not greatly satisfied (as they say), and for a parting blow these foul words betwixt him and the Venetian ambassador at a ball at Queen Margaret's, when the French king took such pleasure, that he could not forbear to say, *Cette farce vaut mieux que la Comedie.*

Here is much raking and scraping on all sides, and the subsidies now must be raised to the height both in city and country.

The Lord Mordaunt² died here last week, and Deering, the lord treasurer's gentleman-usher, fell mad for the love of Mrs. Meautys, that waits on the Lady of Bedford,³ and hath bestowed herself, they say, on young Gerrard, your lady's kinsman.

On Sunday, Taverner going into the field with one Bird, of his own feather, about some swaggering quarrel, left him dead in the place in Theobald's Park, himself hurt in the thigh and not yet heard of. It seems the gallows groans for him, and *quod defertur non aufertur.*

I had some speech with Sir Henry Wallop concerning Ireland, who saith that the secretary's place, by reason of the privy seal always in his custody, and other perquisites belonging to his office, may be worth 400 marks a-year. But the second secretary hath small doings, and must in a manner feed upon hope. This he learned from such as profess to understand the secrets of that place. Now consider whether you will stoop to so poor a prey; at least, I should

¹ The Spanish ambassador at Paris.

² Henry, fourth baron. He had been imprisoned on suspicion of being concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, but liberated on paying a fine.

³ Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

wish you would make account of it as *ultimum refugium* and the last anchor.

Our master¹ and his whole covey are fled from the Strand to Kensington. His butler died the last week somewhat suddenly, and yet upon search no sickness could be seen. He forbore a time coming to the lord treasurer, but now he hath access again, and cannot be missed.

*Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.*²

London, March 30, 1609.

I found, by the report of my two young kinsmen, at their return from those parts, how much your lordship had prevented my recommendation of them by your favourable usage. And though I know you stand no more upon ceremony, than I perceive you need be solicited to show favour in this kind, yet I cannot but satisfy their and their friends' requests in giving your lordship due thanks in their behalf.

Your letter of the 8th of March was safely delivered me by Mr. Packer; and, though the party³ you therein mention had no whit deceived the judgment I always made of his natural disposition, yet I thought that *res, ætas, et usus*, the practice and experience he hath had of the world would rather have taught him better to know, than more to forget himself. But I perceive that honours may easily change manners, when the change is to the first habit; and that the other is but borrowed, and put on for a time. Yet, for my part, I forgive him, since your lordship saith he continues my friend, and in his self-conceitedness he will only prove his own enemy; and peradventure after his return hither, when he hath passed his first sprinkling of our court holy water, and found the world to wag no faster in his favour than other men's, he will begin to fashion himself to the world again, and his friends receive the same contentment in him as before.

I do much more fear the danger, and lament the loss your lordship is like to have (and I may so say of myself)

¹ Sir Walter Cope.

² Still ambassador at Brussels.

³ Sir Ralph Winwood.

of another good friend¹ here in court, whose languishing sickness I am sure you heard of: and though it be rather *molestum periculosum* for the present, yet so much is his mind dejected, and his body withal overthrown, that I do utterly despair of his recovery; and I must again express my grief for him, having found him, by good experience, to be a man of that sincerity both in friendship and judgment, as before I could entertain such conceit of him, your lordship did often recommend him.

Shall I tell your lordship how much I have been deceived in a court kinsman of mine, a great man with the greatest, of whom I expected the least friendship in the world, the man being altogether possessed and transported with vanities. But so it is, that *in variis meis temporibus*, (as when I shall have the happiness to meet your lordship, I shall have strange tales to tell you of a poor man's fortune) he hath truly and really stuck to me, and doth not cease so effectually to solicit my preferment, that, though I find it full of rubs and difficulties, yet it is *in spe*. I have many times and of late sought by his means to understand how the great lord² stands affected towards you, which truly I could never learn but well: and what purpose there is, how to dispose of you at your return. I hear of nothing but to send you *de provinciâ in provinciam*, and that France is like to be your next step.

The service of the Council Chamber (for which Sir Thomas Smith, by reason of his weakness, is now no more reckoned of) is reserved for Sir Ralph Winwood at his return: which how he will brook, after his great employments, I cannot easily imagine. Some gain there is to be had, as appears by a tale was told me from thence on Sunday last, where the butchers of Middlesex being called in question for killing flesh this Lent, showed they did it not without license, and three of them showed their license they had from Sir Anthony Ashley,³ and told what they paid.

¹ Probably Sir Thomas Smith, clerk of the council. See "Winwood's Memorials," vol. iii., p. 6, 7. He died November 28, 1609. Wood, Athen. Oxon., vol. i., col. 352.

² The Earl of Salisbury.

³ He had been secretary at war in the preceding reign.

I have been more courtier this Lent than a long time before ; where I found enough to talk with you of, but not much to write, unless I were well assured of the messenger. The court sermons have been well and exactly hitherto discharged ; and our Oxford men have proved the most eminent, as Dr. King,¹ and Field,² and Aglionby,³ to do the best, and Wright hath the honour to do the worst. The sword cuts even now betwixt Papist and Puritan : but prohibitions are beaten down with a club, yet rise like hydra's heads, and prove the more for preaching against.

The king's book in defence of his *Apology* (which he now avers to be his own) is in the press, whereof I have seen part ; and therein he little spares the Pope or his party ; which others do as frankly imitate both in books and preachings, without straining courtesy, or mincing the matter any longer. And this is the best effects I can foresee of the king's great pains, which would better become a private man. For otherwise touching our fugitive countrymen, which are therein no whit spared, it makes their harvest in finding them work, hereby to value their service : whereas, otherwise, they might lie by the walls as out of use, or rather be turned over the walls as *bouches inutiles*. The bishop of Chichester's⁴ book,⁵ which is likewise done, and much hearkened after, comes out at more leisure. We hear that Secretary Elphinston is condemned in Scotland ; and though some will seem to rove beyond the moon, as if all were but show, and that in the end he should fare no whit the worse ; yet I see not but he may as fairly march on to execution, as by degrees he is come to the pass he is now at ; which, at the beginning of his trouble, was so far beyond most men's expectation.

¹ John King, appointed Dean of Christchurch in 1605, and in 1611 advanced to the Bishopric of London.

² Richard Field, appointed Canon of Windsor in 1604, and Dean of Gloucester in 1609. He died in March 21, 1616.

³ John Aglionby, D.D., Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, in Oxford, and Rector of Islip, in Oxfordshire. He died February 6, 1609-10.

⁴ Dr. Lancelot Andrews.

⁵ " Tortura Torti: sive ad Matthæi Torti Librum Responses," &c. Londino, 1609, 4to.

The king's day passed over with the ordinary solemnity of running and ringing. The tilters were the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Montgomery, the Lords Chandos, Compton, Walden, and Hay,¹ Sir Thomas Somerset, Sir Richard Preston, and the two Alexanders. The Duke of Lennox exceeded all in feathers; the Lord Walden in followers; and Sir Richard Preston in a pageant, which was an elephant with a castle on his back; and it proved a right *partus elephantis*, for it was long a coming, till the running was well entered into, and was then as long a creeping about the tilt-yard, all which time the running was intermitted.

You may see how willing I am to entertain your lordship with novelties, if my store would afford them: and such stuff you may often expect to be troubled withal till you will please to show me the means of doing you better service; which I still entreat of you, and my wife doth desire to make the like offer of her best endeavours to my lady in any of her London affairs, where we are now settled burgesses. And I know not what *malum omen* brought us so near the hospital,² for we have been neither of us very well since our coming hither.

¹ The first among that objectionable class which, under the name of "Favourites," brought so much odium on this and the succeeding reign, was James Hay, a private gentleman of small means, but of many personal recommendations, who had belonged to the Scottish guard of the French king, and was presented by the ambassador from that monarch to King James, soon after his majesty's first arrival in his English metropolis; and the Scottish Solomon, who was like a woman in his preferences, was at once so captivated by his manners and appearance, that he took him immediately into his service, and continued him near his person, graced him with favour, and honoured him with dignities, till the royal eye lighted upon a fairer face, more graceful limbs, and more courtly accomplishments. Mr. Hay had, however, talents that fitted him to shine in the sphere to which he had been raised, and we find him filling posts of considerable responsibility with great credit, and still rising when his less-gifted rivals had fallen to rise no more. On the 29th of June, 1615, he was made a baron, by letters patent, and next year sent ambassador to the court of France. In March, 1617, Lord Hay was sworn of the privy council, created Viscount Doncaster in July of the following year, and then proceeded on an embassy into Germany. In 1622 he was again sent to France in the same capacity, on the 13th of September of which year he was raised to the dignity of Earl of Carlisle—having enjoyed also the distinction of master of the great wardrobe, gentleman of the robes, and knight of the garter. Charles I. made him his first gentleman of the bedchamber, and appears to have held his talents in much estimation. His first wife was Honora, heiress of Edward Lord Denny, after whose decease, he married the Lady Lucy Percy, youngest daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland. He died April 25, 1636, and was succeeded by his only son, who, dying in 1660, without heirs, all the honours became extinct.

² St. Bartholomew's.

*John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.*¹

Ware Park, April 20, 1609.

Besides these enclosed pamphlets from Mr. Clarencieux,² which are to be restored if he look for them, I have here sent you a letter I met with as I was going to horse, but had no leisure to confer with John More, the messenger, nor to read over the articles of the truce which he offered me, though by good hap I have lighted on them here.³

Sir Ralph Winwood's return will be more speedy than I expected. Wherefore I wish you should bestir you, and *omnem movere lapidem*, to get one foot into employment; and though I know you will not be wanting to yourself, nor need no spur, yet can I not stand like an idle looker-on, but must with some forward show or gesture accompany your cause.

I went yesterday to Knebworth, to visit Sir Rowland Lytton, and came just to the removing of the camp, the young people being to take their flight, some one way, some another; for the pattock is come among them, and hath dispersed the covey. Will Lytton is arrested by the smallpox, that began to come forth on Tuesday night, and continued all the while I was there, which was not long, though in no great quantity; for he bled well at the nose, which sign I know not whether it be good or ill, but sure, they say, he had been very ill since Saturday; whereupon they sent for a physician to Cambridge, that tarries by him. I found Sir Rowland hearty and healthy enough, saving for the humour in his eyes; but he bid me tell you, not altogether so merry or gamesome as when he wrote to you last. I made as little stay amongst them as I handsomely could, for I assure you, whether it were conceit or good earnest, my head ached all the while I was there, and is scant in time yet. Sir Rowland is as wary of coming at him as any of the rest, for he fears if the infection should catch hold on him, it would fall into the weakest part, and endanger his eyes; yet he, of all

¹ At his house in Little St. Burtholomew's.

² Camden.

³ At Ware Park, Hertfordshire, the seat of Sir Henry Fanshaw.

the rest, continues in the house, though as far removed as he can. He makes no doubt but he brought it down from his sister Wallop's; and these be the good turns, he says, they are to look for from thence. I would gladly learn how she does; for Mrs. Smith, and Weston, the apothecary, told me that morning that I came away, that she had had an ill night.

You are often wished and remembered here, and if you could find any commodity, or get so much leave of your lady, you would not think a day or two here ill bestowed, for I never knew this place sweeter, though much fairer and richer in show; and yet we have now four or five flowers from Sir Ralph Winwood's, that cost £12.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, April 6, 1609.

I received yesterday your letter by your servant, which was the more welcome, in that it puts me in hope of seeing you and my lady here some time this summer, when I understand there will be a general revocation of all our ambassadors. But these, that lead the way to your return, will, I assure you, in respect of your lordship, be less welcome unto me, though, for one of them,¹ I presume I have good place in his friendship; for I have no reason to expect he should prove other to me than to your lordship, with whom there was the same, if not stricter obligation. I must confess, upon your first letter, it sunk not so deep into me, conceiving that, as *vultus sæpe læditur pictus*—so it might be, that his magisterial gravity and supercilious look that had so much distasted you. But finding by discourse with Mr. Trumbal how you were handled betwixt them,² I can as hardly excuse him of falsehood in friendship, as the other of folly. The best I can now make of it, is a fear that might possess them, lest you should thrust your sickle into their harvest, which since, I hear, they have plentifully reaped. Yet again I see not

¹ Sir Ralph Winwood.

² Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Ralph Winwood, commissioners in the treaty between Spain and the States-General.

how their jealousy should so blind them, as not to see you would not meddle in their charge, unless you had commission from hence ; or, if you had commission, they could not hinder you. Well, sir, if he expect to be created cardinal for this service, he may well be deceived, for I see no better benefice for him at his return than to serve as a clerk : which how well he will digest after these great employments, your lordship may judge, who knows that place well by former experience ; and the quality thereof you will think is not mended, when the puisne in that place is grown discontented, and complains himself much to his friends that his time and good parts are so unworthily employed.

You will hear of Sir Thomas Smith by your servant, who went the last night to see him. The last time I was with him he drooped very much, and continued as dejected in mind as weakened in body, but towards your lordship, by occasion of discourse, expressed much kind affection ; yet laid his disease somewhat to your charge, for persuading him to continue his diligence in attendance at court, which made him neglect his own health. But he, that is well acquainted with his nature, knows better where to lay his fault than upon a friend's counsel.

For yourself in your deliberations, what course to take at your return, your remove into France is here to be well thought of ; for though it be no small trouble of mind for a man to waste the best part of his life amongst strangers, yet I dare rather trust your constancy in wearing out some time patiently in a place of honour and action, than in waiting here for what may happen with many crosses and discontentments, or in a retired life, which I know not how well you can digest. And this place, to which in discourse we still assign you, is the most eminent ; and the State, whatever becomes of particulars, will be interested in honour for providing for one, who hath past, as you have done, all the classes of employment. Thus much I rather write, that you may see how other men's judgments concur with your own, than that you need any counsel, or that I think myself able to advise you.

For any change of fortune to the poor here of the hospital, *nec nullâ nec magnâ spe sumus*: and so God knows how long we shall rest. The sickness continues at a high rate, and is much dispersed, which makes the summer much feared, and I am therefore providing a retreat. The smallpox is very rife, and little less dangerous than the plague. Sir Adolphus Carey died of them here in town about a fortnight since; and my cousin Lytton, who was with you so lately, took the infection here in town about a week since, and lies sick at this present at his father's, in some danger. My Lady of Exeter had her funerals performed at Westminster, with no greater number of blacks than the nearest of kin and domestical servants could furnish. My Lord Lumley died at Nonsuch some ten days since, and is like to be buried *in tenebris*.

The Easter holidays were spent at court with accustomed solemnities. The Sunday was well suited with two reverend preachers, the Bishop of Bath¹ to the household, and Chichester before the king. The Tuesday, whereof the afternoon was spent in bear-baiting, was as well fitted with a chaplain, one Dr. Smith, head of a house in Cambridge, who so well baited all the great ones, terming them *suffragatores aulicos*, for abusing the king's ear in preferment of suits, judges for prohibitions, patrons for impropriations and selling of benefices, and all sort of officers, for corruption in their places: and that in so plain and broad terms, that I know not how he escaped baiting himself. The pride of St. George's-day was much marred with a moist morning. Young Palmes, who hath lain this twelvemonth in the Tower for challenging my Lord of Sussex the last St. George's-day, is delivered upon submission, now made publicly in the chapel before the king and the rest of the knights. The king is at this present at Theobalds, but looked for quickly here in town, having now in hand the translation of his book into Latin, wherein he useth Sir Henry Saville and some others, and it will be yet a fortnight's work. Mean time, the English book will come forth again, well purged of some oversights.

¹ Dr. James Montague.

Sir Henry Fanshaw¹ to John Chamberlain, Esq.

May, 1609.

I will say nothing of Sir Ralph Winwood's being master of the Requests in ordinary, with £100 per annum; nor of Mr. Edmondess² being clerk of the council. I make reckoning you have particular accounts of those matters by a better way. I hear the King of Spain hath ratified the truce, with request that the Catholics may be well dealt with.

Much ado hath been for inquiring after the villanous books. Many books are taken, and were yesterday to be burned at St. Paul's Cross, Dr. Fenton³ preaching by discretion. The stationers have been examined whom they have sold them to, and among the rest Sir Dudley Digges is in question, which I am sorry for. Here was a secular priest, taken in or about the Venetian ambassador's house, with those books about him. He is committed to the ambassador's custody.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondess.

London, June 8, 1609.

I have in all things so freely expressed myself to this bearer, your trusty good servant, that I have left nothing to write which he may not in better sort relate to you. But he will not return empty-handed. The resolution your lordship hath taken to undergo the French employment I am heartily glad of, it being in all appearance the best and most assured cause of bringing you in the end to a settled fortune, and no hinderance in the mean time to

¹ The remembrancer of the Exchequer, father of the more celebrated Sir Richard Fanshaw.

² Clement Edmondess, the writer of the letter printed in p. 57. To the brief account of him given in the note, may here be added, that he had been secretary for the French tongue to Queen Elizabeth, about 1601, afterwards remembrancer of the city of London, and muster-master at the Brill. He published an English translation of Cæsar's Commentaries.

³ Roger Fenton, D.D., a native of Lancashire, educated in the University of Cambridge, where he was fellow of Clare Hall. He became rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, August 18, 1601; and of St. Bennet Sherehog, September 2, 1603, which living he resigned about November, 1606. He died January 16, 1615-16, in the fiftieth year of his age.

any thing you may expect in recompence of your former services; nay, rather, in my poor opinion, your ready assenting to this offer of our great lord (who will not, as you know, have his favours rejected) is the readiest way to win him more unto you, and to further your pretensions, which I heartily wish may succeed to your farther contentment. And I would be glad I could send your lordship confirmation of what you write touching myself, which would, I doubt not, content you the more to see your friends in a good way with you. But I have not yet received any the least signification of such intention, which makes me believe that in the secret council the matter is otherwise resolved; else would not good news be so long concealed. Howsoever, the worst is provided for, and the failing of a better fortune shall not hinder me (God willing) from enjoying my contentment in a meaner; which, though God knows it be poor and penurious, and in the estimate of the world *ut nunc sunt homines*, scarce enough to keep me in credit; yet, it being sufficient *pro meis moribus* to bring the year about, I shall not despair of maintaining my reputation with my nearest friends, with whose good conceit I am more affected than with vulgar opinion. Your constant and careful regard of me, I assure your lordship, is no small comfort unto me; and I cannot forbear to tell you what contentment you gave Sir Thomas Smith by your kind letter and message, which he expressed with as much tenderness as tears could witness. He now recovers strength very well, and is in practice again of his Latin secretaryship; but his disease still hangs upon him, so as I am in despair of seeing him any more a courtier.

I hear Sir Ralph Winwood aims at a mastership of Requests, to be added at his return to his place in the council chamber, which alone of itself he accounts too great a fall from his high pitch of employments. Sir Henry Wotton is like to be continued yet some time at Venice, till they can here better resolve how to dispose of him at his return; for the Spanish air is thought somewhat too hot for his crazedness: and here are others very hard in pursuit of that employment. The greatest subject of discourse at court is in chopping and changing, and finding fit men for

those places. For other news, this bearer will tell you how barren we are.

The matter of prohibitions hath been of late very hotly debated before the king, both by the judges and high commissioners, wherein the king played the best part in collecting arguments on both sides, and concluding indifferently that he saw much endeavour to draw water to their several mills, and therefore advised them to think amongst themselves of some moderate course, wherein the good of the subject might be more respected than their particular jurisdictions. And for this purpose there is another day of meeting before the king, set down about the midst of the next month. This day the king sits himself in like manner about the admiralty; and he threatens to look into many other disorders of government, whereof these disputes and contentions have made discovery; and he plainly told the lawyers, he would leave hunting of hares, and hunt them in their quirks and subtleties, with which the subject had been long abused. And indeed herein he hath a wonderful ability, whereof he never made better demonstration than in this question of prohibitions: and it may be said of him as was of Cæsar in the like occasions, "*Si ille tali ingenio exitum non reperiet, quis reperiet?*" His book in defence of his Apology is seconded with a reply of the Bishop of Lincoln¹ upon parsons, who are indeed *par gladiatorium*; and he deals with him at his own weapon, but methinks strikes somewhat too freely on the other side when he terms deposing princes, surprising their persons, and renouncing allegiance, to be either Jesuited or Genevated divinity: wherein I doubt our good friends, that profess the same, as we do, will hold themselves much scandalized.

The Bishop of Chichester's book is now in the press, whereof I have seen part, and it is a worthy work; only the brevity breeds obscurity, and puts the reader to some of that pains which was taken by the writer. Dr. Morton² comes after with a large volume; and Sir Edward Hoby

¹ William Burton, D.D., formerly fellow of Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, afterwards Dean of Chester, consecrated Bishop of Rochester, 30th June, 1605, and translated to the see of Lincoln, 27th June, 1608. He died suddenly, 7th September, 1613.

² Thomas Morton, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Durham.

(who, by the way, is a sad mourner for his mother) comes in like an *entremêts* with a work of his dedicated to the relapsed ladies; so as Paul's Churchyard¹ is like to be well furnished.

The town is at this present very empty and solitary, there being nothing thought on, by reason of the sickness, but *fugæ et formidines*. In Oxford they are suddenly affrighted, and most of the scholars fled, the plague being broken out in two colleges, Brazennose and St. John's, and in two places of the town in two days.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, August 6, 1609.

The court is now well advanced in the progress. My lord treasurer and lord chamberlain went towards it on Friday last, and kept the king's holiday the next day at Windsor. My Lord of Canterbury,² my lord chancellor,³ and the two chancellors of the exchequer⁴ and duchy,⁵ keep residence here in town; of which the last hath been shrewdly frightened of late; as first he was driven from the duchy house to Lambeth by the plague, which knocked at his door and took away his porter; and now he is driven back again from his house at Lambeth by the same danger, which came somewhat nearer him, his secretary, Loveden, dying suddenly of it, and another sick in his house. The sickness increaseth here in town, but not much for the time of the year, and for that which was feared. Sir Thomas Smith hath been now a month at Newnham Wells, where he finds, as I hear, small help: and this being his last refuge, he will return, I fear, much discouraged.

Your neighbour with the Free States,⁶ is going back well satisfied with his treatment here; as he hath good cause, for titles of honour; and for matter of profit, he was well beforehand, and the rest he is like to make up where he goes. I do assure your lordship he hath as much deceived me since his coming home, as he did you at your

¹ Where most of the booksellers' shops are situated.

² Dr. Richard Bancroft.

³ Egerton Lord Ellesmere.

⁴ Sir Julius Cæsar.

⁵ Sir Thomas Parry.

⁶ Sir Ralph Winwood.

last meeting. For whereas his carriage towards you gave me cause to expect no great friendly or real dealing, being alike interested with him, he hath thus far deceived my expectation; as first, when there was question of his stay or return, to seek to leave me his successor in the Low Countries, in case his service should have been employed here: then, when his return was resolved, to establish me in his place in the council-chamber, for which he moved my lord himself. And though it took not place, I am not to measure the matter by the event. Now lastly, at his leave-taking, he took occasion to recommend me again to my lord, which was taken in good part; and this comfort given me from his lordship, that I should find the difference to be great between slow doing and not doing at all.

We have had many times speech touching your lordship, wherein he still gave you your due without any the least diminution in the world to your credit and reputation. Only he complained, that you were not so well satisfied in him. I took no knowledge at any time of any matter betwixt you; and he was as sparing to acquaint me with it. But his colleague¹ (drunk, as it seemed, with his good fortune) at our very first meeting dashed up to the ears into the matter, and said enough to make me plainly perceive it was only a mechanical jealousy of having a new sharer in their profit that made them give you that harsh entertainment. But enough of this matter; and I fear I have formerly troubled your lordship with too much of the like. But I write with that freedom and familiarity, as my affection to you is free and unfeigned.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, December 13, 1609.

The king, queen, and prince, went this morning to the launching of the great East Indian ship newly built, where they were to have a great banquet, and Sir Thomas Smith to be graced with a great chain of gold and a medal, to be put about his neck by the king's own hand.

Sir Walter Raleigh hath a ship come from Guiana, richly

¹ Sir Richard Spencer.

laden, they say, with gold ore ; and Sir Thomas Roe, with a ship and pinnace, is going that way to seek his fortune. To-morrow or next day the prince's challenge is to be proclaimed at court, and then he is to keep a table for all comers, till the play be done. Sir John Davis's lady is come out of Ireland, but I hear nothing of his arrival. I can learn no more of the Lady Arabella, but that she is committed to the Lord Knevet,¹ and was yesterday again before the Lords. Her gentleman-usher and her waiting-woman are close prisoners since her first restraint. Here is a flying report that Espernon should be gone to Metz, and revolted from the king, who hath likewise no small suspicions of the constable, Duke de Bouillon, and all that faction.

The Bishop of Ely² preached at court on Christmas-day, with great applause, being not only *sui similis*, but more than himself, by the report of the king and all his auditors. I am promised some notes of his sermon, and then your part is therein. I hear that his book³ is answered, as well as the king's, and that the Cardinal of Evreux hath written something sharply against the king, but yet qualifies it somewhat towards the latter end, which the king says he takes in no better part.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, January 23, 1609-10.

The first and best news I can send you is, that I have received all your money from Knebworth ; and for other provisions, I send you here sufficient to hold out a longer siege than you are like to endure where you are.

Will Lytton's letter must not be lost, for the little great lord⁴ gives it great commendation, and wishes he had given a thousand pounds his son could do as much ; and for Rosin's (though it go with leaden pace, in respect of the light foot and quicksilver conceit of the French now-days), you see I am enjoined to have it forthcoming.

I have been twice or thrice at the Black Friars, but

¹ Sir Thomas, created, in 1607, Baron Knivet, of Escrick. He died April 27, 1622.

² Dr. Andrews.

³ *Tortura Torti*, printed at London, 1607, 4to.

⁴ The Earl of Salisbury. He was small of stature.

there is *solitudo ante ostium*; and, for aught I can learn, are not looked for these three or four days.

Ned Wimarke appears not in Paul's, but ever since before Christmas hath taken a toy to keep in saving, that now and then he steals out by owl-light to the Star and to the Windmill.¹ Which course of his is cause of much descanting, and the nearest and dearest friends he hath know not what to guess of this humour.

The French, Venetian, and Saxon ambassadors landed at Dover altogether. The Saxon's errand is about a present to Cleveland. That of the French is said to be about the fishing on our coast; and, in case the union go forward, to propound that the ancient alliance 'twixt France and Scotland be not dissolved, but rather renewed and extended to all Britain.

One Bromley,² an obscure lawyer, of the Inner Temple, is, or shall shortly be, made a baron of the Exchequer.

Much talk and discourse here is of new creations toward, as three or four marquises, as many earls and barons, without number, specially if the rest come to the proportion of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Moyle Finch, whereof the first is said to offer ten, the other £8000, and, under *benedicite*, they say, *nostre grand ami de Bisham*³ doth tender *dix mille escus*. You may believe as little as you list; I, for my part, never a whit, till I see it done.

There was a quarrel hatching at Greenwich 'twixt Sir Edward Herbert and one Boghnar, a Scot gentleman, usher to the queen, about a ribbon or favour taken, as it were, by force from Mrs. Middlemore. But the matter was timely taken up, and compounded by the council. Your cousin, Harry Davis, looks somewhat surly on the matter, since the sword was laid on his shoulder.

The Bishop of Rochester should go to Litchfield, but they say he will not remove unless he may retain Rochester or Westminster.

¹ A famous tavern, in the Old Jewry, mentioned by Ben Jonson, in his *Every Man in his Humour*.

² Edward.

³ Edward Hoby, whose seat was at Bisham, near Maidenhead, in Berks.

Mr. John Packer to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

Whitehall, January 17, 1610.

I doubt not but that your lordship hath already heard of my Lord Kinloss's¹ sudden death, who went well to bed, but died before morning. Whereof news was presently sent to Sir Edward Philips, in Somersetshire, who had before the reversion of that office;² yet, as it is held, without bestowing of the Six Clerks. Presently, upon his death, Sir Julius Cæsar obtained a reversion after Philips, upon this consideration, that Queen Elizabeth, in her lifetime, had resolved to bestow that place upon him, and with a clause that this grant shall be no example for the bestowing of such places in reversion hereafter.

Sir Robert Car hath compounded with my Lord Knyvet for the keeping of this house and St. James's Park; in consideration whereof, the king giveth my Lord Knyvet £2000, which, they say, is all that Sir Robert will take of his majesty, who offered him £8000, but he refused it, alleging that he had no reason to be so chargeable to him, since he was in necessity himself, but would content himself with that means which his majesty had already bestowed upon him.

Casaubon³ hath, besides his prebend in Canterbury, a pension out of the Exchequer of £300 by the year. On Christmas day last, he received the communion in the King's Chapel, though he understood not the language.

Yesterday, Mr. Neville, who claimeth the title of Westmoreland, was, with his counsel, before the Lords about his great business, offering for the land, whereto he pretendeth title, £50,000, presently to be carried down by his friends to the king's use; and the same rent perpetual, which his majesty now receiveth for it.

Sir Anthony Ashley is still kept in chase by Sir James Creighton and others, for poisoning of a man eighteen

¹ Edward Bruce, created Baron of Kinloss, of Murray, in Scotland, July 8, 1604. He died January 14, 1610-11. See before, p. 7.

² Of Master of the Rolls.

³ Isaac Casaubon, the Genevese divine, who, on the murder of Henry IV., of France, settled in England, and entered the church, in which James gave him preferment. He wrote and edited a great many works, chiefly in classical literature. He died in 1611.

years ago. We have now a warrant for Sir John Digby's entertainment, who prepareth to be gone in March. Of Monsieur Laverdin's arrival I write nothing, because I know no more than the post can tell you.

Of the committing of my Lady Arabella to the Bishop of Durham, and other such occurrents, I doubt not Mr. De Vic doth weekly advertise your lordship; and, therefore, I forbear to trouble you any farther. Yet I will make bold to acquaint your lordship with a journey of mine shortly into France, whither my Lord of Dorset¹ is very desirous to have my company, and to that purpose hath, by my lord chamberlain's² means, procured my lord treasurer's consent; so that I leave some other in my absence to perform the business. This employment I should never have sought, neither would I have undertaken it, but upon the earnest suit of some of my lord's friends, who feared, if I refused, that another ill affected should have been thrust upon him. And to do good in any kind, I would at any time be content to forego mine own benefit or pleasure, or anything else which the world can afford. I know not whether we shall pass by Paris or not, and the truth is, in regard of some dangerous persons there, I would be willing to draw him to some other place more private, where he might learn the language, before he see the court.

Rev. John Sanford³ to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, March 6, 1610.

The time of our departure for Spain drawing near, which is assigned about the 20th of March, and myself upon the point of taking my leave of those to whom for love or respect I owe this duty, I thought it fit to begin from your

¹ Richard, Earl of Dorset, born March 28, 1589. He died March 28, 1624, aged thirty-five years.

² Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

³ A native of Somersetshire, educated at Baliol College, in Oxford, where he was entered about the time of the Act in 1581, and continued there till he was B.A., when he was made one of the chaplains of Magdalen College. Here having contracted a friendship with John Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, who was commoner of that college, he travelled with him into France, Spain, and Italy, and was afterwards chaplain to him, when Sir John Digby was sent ambassador to Spain. At his return from thence he became domestic chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, who gave him a prebend of Canterbury, and the rectory of Ivy Church. He died September 24, 1629.

lordship, in whose honourable favours I have found the greatest place of my poor fortunes. It was my grief to be transplanted out of your lordship's house, but that then was cause; and little did I think to have exchanged Brussels for Madrid. But as God, out of his love towards me, hath always crossed me in that which I most desired, and taken me from that wherein I most delighted, this often change should put me in mind of my own change.

My opinion of Spain, as also my affection towards it, is the same that ever it hath been. I hear Catholics lately come from thence to speak much good of the country. But when I read Clenard's¹ epistle of his journey thither, I am apt to believe the contrary; who having been a public reader at Louvain, as he passed through Biscay, having broken a little drinking-glass, he was fain to drink water, like Diogenes, in his hand, because all the village was not able to lend him another. Near Valladolid he could hardly get a faggot of vine branches to warm him in a sharp weather. His supper at nights was indeed, as he saith, *cæna dubia*, not as the Latins meant it, a plentiful supper, which made the guests in doubt where to feed; but *quod incertum erat an cogeretur jejuna*; his *olla* was a little poor deal of bacon, which he was fain to buy *unciatim*, by ounces. His stomach roaring for want of victuals, he was forced to betake himself to roast onions as to his *sacra anchora*. His inn could not afford him either bed or straw. But having hired three blackamoors, he slept by hanging on their shoulders, or by being stayed up by them; whilst his muleteer *foris deliciabatur in strato gramineo*.

This narration I first read at Brussels with delight; but being now to make trial of it, I apprehend it with fear and horror, the rather for their sakes amongst us, who having been used to much tenderness, will find it strange, after a tedious and dangerous passage by sea, to be entertained in this kingdom of *Cabul*, a land of mountains and deserts. I held it, as it was indeed, a pleasant journey, when, mounted on Crop, I had better provinces under my horse's hoof than Spain hath any, and lay every night in a beau-

¹ Nicolaus Clenardus, who died at Granada about 1542. His Epistles were printed at Louvain in 1561, at Antwerp in 1566, and at Hanover in 1606.

tiful walled town, plentifully and daintily fed. Now I am told, for certain, that my Spanish jennet must be a Biscayan mule, which will fling, as if with her heels she would hit him that rideth on her back, which will ease me of one of my pains, that whereas I should otherwise be in fear of climbing those wearisome cliffs and mountains, now I shall only be in care where to fall soft. Our cities, poor hamlets, whose mud-wall houses, (as Mr. Philpot was wont to say) like young whelps, see not till nine days after they be made, their windows being scored and cut out; our ventas and hostelries without victuals or lodging, which made Clenard to cry out upon them, "*O Lusitani tollite falsa vocabula: vocatur Diversorium, ubi nec comedendi nec dormiendi datur facultas.*"

My good lord, while I make myself as merry as I can with this my journey into Spain, I have an inkling of irresolution of leaving the ocean to our household, and of Sir John Digby's and my lady's passing through France. And indeed there is great reason for it; for in her safety and her young son's is shipped the greatest stay of our present fortunes; the estate which Sir John doth now enjoy by her being set at £1200 by the year; her son also being a tender child, and the last of his name in England; who, if he should fail, his fair estate would clean be dissipated. I might add also his eldest brother, Sir Robert Digby's¹ heir, that is to be Baron of La Faile in Ireland, besides his father's inheritance in England. These considerations make us turn sail to coast by France; which puts me in some hope of seeing your lordship once again.

For news, I know your lordship hath certain advertisements from others: only thus much, as incident to mine own faculty, "My Lord of London² is lately become Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is thought that Dr. King³ shall succeed him.

There is a flying speech here of the death of my Lord of York.⁴ Upon the remove of the Bishop of Gloucester⁵ to Worcester, Dr. Tooker (who is now printing an answer

¹ He married Lettice Fitzgerald, daughter and sole heir of Gerald, Lord Offaley; and on Sir Robert's death, May 24, 1618, his lady was created Baroness Offaley.

² Dr. George Abbot.

³ Dr. John King, who was consecrated to the see of London, September 8, 1611.

⁴ Dr. Toby Matthew.

⁵ Dr. Henry Parry.

to Bocanus, as the Bishop of Ely¹ is against Bellarmin²) had thought to have succeeded, and had a grant of it from the king; but Dr. Tomson,³ Dean of Windsor, hath carried it from him. Dr. Buckeridge is lord-elect of Rochester.

Upon Sunday last, the 3rd of March, Mr. Theophilus Higgins made his recantation at Paul's Cross; whereat were present (besides an army of hearers) my lord treasurer, my Lord of Shrewsbury, my Lord of Worcester, Lord Lisle, Lord Hunsdon, Sir Julius Cæsar, with others of the court. He gave ample satisfaction to all that were well affected, and with great learning in his discourse, and abundance of tears in his contrition. *De corde judicat Deus*. The papists, of whom many were present, were scandalized, and had a purpose to have scattered divers of his books (which contain an answer to Sir Edward Hoby) among the people at the Cross; but my Lord of London having notice of it, recovered the books into his own hands, and defeated them.

By the late fall of the three knights of the garter, Lord Dunbar,⁴ Sir Henry Leigh, and Viscount Bindon,⁵ the house of Suffolk groweth great in lands. The auditor-general⁶ is expected here shortly after Easter. The ambassador to be sent from hence is diversly spoken of: some say Sir Henry Wotton, lately arrived in court; others suspect Mr. George Calvert, who came to London on Sunday last; of late Sir Thomas Overbury, a great favourite of Sir Robert Car, hath been mentioned.

Sir John Digby hath had the favour to have six months' allowance for his provisions, and three months' advance upon his ordinary entertainment. I send your lordship herewithal a Spanish grammar, which I have lately printed for our company that are bound for Spain.

¹ Dr. Lancelot Andrews.

² A learned cardinal and Jesuit, who wrote a controversial work in Latin, in support of the temporal power and spiritual supremacy of the Church of Rome. He died in 1621.

³ Dr. Giles Tomson, installed Dean of Windsor March 2, 1602, and consecrated Bishop of Gloucester June 9, 1611. He died June 4, 1612.

⁴ Alexander, created, March 4, 1604-5, Baron Dunglas and Earl of Home. He died in 1619.

⁵ Thomas Howard, third Viscount. He died in 1619.

⁶ The Audiencer Verreyken.

George Calvert,¹ Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.²

Charing Cross, March 10, 1610.

But that I could not let pass any servant of your own, without saluting you, I should perhaps have stayed a few days longer for more matter; desiring, together with the advertisement of my safe arrival, to let your lordship understand the state of our court here, our country, and our friends. But I am yet but a stranger, and know little; and besides, the extraordinary good usage I received from your lordship and your worthy lady, (which I preach to all my friends here, with that acknowledgment which it deserveth) hath so debauched me, as my spirits are still with you; and I cannot yet well draw them from the Faubourg of St. Germain, to intend anything here.

I arrived in England, at Hythe, in Kent, upon Saturday last, late at night, having been two days and one night at sea with foul weather; and upon Sunday I came hither, where I was not unwelcome nor unlooked for, as I perceived.

I presently went to the court, and delivered your despatch. I found my lord³ in a disposition calm and sweet, using me with that favourable respect wherewith he is pleased to grace those poor servants he makes account of. He read not your letter presently, being at that time in hand (as it seemed) with some other despatch; neither had I any other speech with him, of your lordship, than that he asked me, How you did? when I remembered your

¹ He began his political career as secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, when the latter filled the post of Secretary of State. He then transferred his services to the crown, by accepting the place of clerk to the privy council. This more directly brought him under the notice of the king, who soon showed him evidences of his favour, honoured him with knighthood, made him secretary of state, employed him in the most important transactions, and was so satisfied with his ability and zeal as to confer on him a thousand a-year beyond his official salary. Sir George thought proper to embrace the Roman Catholic religion: bigoted as James was, this did not affect the interests of his secretary, for the king soon afterwards enriched him with many important grants of land in Ireland, of which country he elevated him to the peerage on the 16th of February, 1624, with the title of Baron Baltimore. Lord Baltimore afterwards distinguished himself by endeavouring, on an immense grant of land he had obtained, to form a colony in Newfoundland, which, after visiting three times during the reign of James, and spending a vast sum of money, he subsequently abandoned for another in Maryland. He died on the 15th of April, 1632.

² Now ambassador at the court of France, and afterwards Secretary of State.

³ My lord treasurer, the Earl of Salisbury.

service to him. He dismissed me for that night, because it was very late: and since I have seen him but once; for the next day he went to Hatfield, and from thence is gone to the king at Royston, and to Audley End, where my lord chamberlain is at this present, and returns again hither within these three days, as I understand.

For our news here, your lordship will not look for so long an inventory as that of John de Garres' from me, that have had no time to gather; yet, since my coming, I understand these few: that the Bishop of London, by a strong *north* wind, coming out of Scotland, is blown over the Thames to Lambeth! the king having professed to the bishop himself, as also to all the lords of his council, that it is neither the respect of his learning, his wisdom, nor his sincerity, (although he is well persuaded there is not any one of them wanting in him) that hath made him to prefer him before the rest of his fellows, but merely the recommendation of his faithful servant Dunbar that is dead, whose suit on the behalf of this bishop he cannot forget, nor will not suffer to lose his intention.

Doctor King is to be preferred to London; and they say the Bishop of Ely will not now print his book.

Here is a speech of the death of the Archbishop of York; but is not so certain, as I dare affirm it for truth. So much for your clergy.

Young Mr. Wharton² is shortly to be married to Sir Robert Cary's daughter,³ that waited upon my Lady Elizabeth's grace. It is said he makes her £1200 a-year jointure, and Sir Robert Cary gives £6000 portion.

I had forgotten to put, with the news of the clergy, a famous conversation of a revolted minister of our church, Mr. Theophilus Higgins, who, your lordship may remember, fled from England to Brussels some three or four years since, and was undertaken by Sir Edward Hoby to be encountered withal, who wrote an "Anti-Higgins," answered afterwards, as I take it, in part or in whole, by my Lady Lovell. This Mr. Higgins, upon Sunday last,

¹ Author of "Inventoire General de l'Histoire General de France," printed at Paris, 1608.

² Son and heir of the Lord Wharton.

³ Philadelphia.

the day of my arrival, preached at Paul's Cross his penitential sermon, where were present my lord treasurer, and divers other lords of the council, besides an infinite multitude of all sorts of people, and which is worthy of all admiration. The self-same day was born to Sir Edward Hoby a son and heir, insomuch as he saith he will bless that day for the birth of two children, spiritual and temporal; for a *natural* I dare not say, though, perhaps, more proper for this division, because this word sometimes receives a base interpretation. And yet himself said, as I hear, as soon as the midwife brought him his son to see him, that it was a goodly child, God bless him! and wonderfully like the father, whosoever he were.

Sir Henry Wotton arrived here some three or four days before me, and is yesterday gone to the king to Royston, which is the first access he hath had. He is well used, as I understand, and his spirits almost come to their right place, and settled; but of this you shall hear more hereafter.

The beginning of this next month Sir John Digby begins his journey; and, as he tells me, for his wife's sake will perform it by land, for she cannot brook the seas.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, June 2, 1610.

Here is news of your arrival at Paris, which I am heartily glad of; and now here is as great expectation to hear from you. And though as things stand in that state you may allow us to be *novitatis avidi*, yet such as consider the time of your arrival, the space to be allowed for your audiences, and some leisure afterwards for despatch, cannot proportion a shorter time than a day or two hence, by which time I will not doubt but somebody will be come from you.

The first part of the prince's creation¹ was acted on Thursday last, when he came from Richmond by water,

¹ The creation of the king's eldest son, Henry, as prince of Wales, a detailed account of which may be found in Dr. Birch's *Life of his Royal Highness*, p. 190. See also "Winwood's Memorials," vol. iii., p. 179.

accompanied with many of the nobility, and was met by the way by the lord mayor and all the companies, much after the fashion of bringing the lord mayor to Westminster. The knights of the Bath have their college, and perform their ceremonies at Durham House, from whence they are to ride in public show to Whitehall. All the rest of the ceremony that belongs to the prince shall be performed in as private manner as may be, and altogether after the fashion of Prince Arthur, first son to Henry VII., who, you know, was a good husband. And the king, in this time of necessity, which is so pressed to the parliament, is not willing to undergo any needless expense, which is the cause that makes the creation so private; whereas, otherwise, there was to have been a solemn entry and passage through the city of London, which is now contracted betwixt Whitehall and Westminster, and that by water. The Court of Requests is dressed up and furnished for the place of solemnity, and the Lower House have scaffolds for them. The lord mayor and aldermen will be allowed entrance: and of others, besides the Upper House, we hear of none shall be admitted; yet the ambassadors make some influence to be present at it, but the competition for place betwixt the greatest is thought shall serve for excuse to the rest.

Our affairs in parliament hold on the accustomed course. You left us, as I remember, in a troublesome question, touching the receiving of messages from the king by the speaker, wherein the king was content with a general answer, without insisting much upon his particular demands. Out of that heat we leap presently into a fire; the matter of impositions, touching the right of them, being much insisted upon in the House; without which, unless they might have free liberty to treat of them, they would no farther proceed in any thing else. Whereunto, the king, in like manner, was content to give way, and leave was given us to make search into the records; but with this condition, that the consideration of the king's necessities should likewise proceed *pari passu*. The first part of these you think the House will not neglect, but for the latter it comes still halting after; and all that

hath since your departure been farther done is, that this day a sub-committee is appointed to consider, whether such things as were offered unto us by way of contract, besides those which are included in the tenures and wardships, are of any value to raise us higher in our offer of supply. And in our last conference it was told us by the Lords, that so we would rise in our offers, the king would fall in his demands.¹

We have had one audience of the king touching recusants, whom against this time of solemnity we would have banished this town by proclamation, and priests and Jesuits to be more strictly looked unto, and kept in better custody, with some other circumstances touching these kind of people. To which the king gave us a willing hearing, and promised to accomplish our desires in all particulars.²

Your Bill of Naturalization hath been smothered in the clerk's pocket ever since your departure; but it was my fortune to fall foul of him a day or two since in the House, for the false entering of an order: which, though it was in another case, yet he took it that my quarrel was to him for his doubling in this. And this effect is like to come of it, that at our next meeting we shall have the Bill brought to light again, and put into the hands of the committee. I was forward in this matter before, in regard of my friends, but now somewhat the more for my own interest.

You remember where you left me, newly drawn out of the bogs into the water. You were scarce at sea, when I was fetched out of the water to dry land, and the place from whence you last came assigned to me for my province. It is some contentment to succeed a friend in a

¹ James and his parliament had for some time been at issue: the former, impressed with the notion that the kingly power was as unlimited as that of the Almighty, wanted to exercise his prerogative in making any use he pleased of the lives and properties of his subjects. The latter, not so well satisfied of this, would allow of no impositions being levied upon the people, till the authority to make such imposts could be shown to them. The patriotic members were so stout in their resistance to the king's absolute notions, that he was at last obliged to modify them considerably. The Commons too began to talk about grievances, and soon began to talk to some purpose. They were the faint beginnings of that spirit of resistance to abuse, which in the succeeding reign produced such important results.

² For further particulars respecting these persecutions, see Lingard, vol. ix., p 79.

public charge, especially one who hath left so good traces and steps wherein to walk; and though to follow an example, which I have so small hope to attain unto, be some prejudice, yet *aliquid est in secundis aut tertiis consistere*, and I shall presume of your furtherance and help for my better direction in the service. If the sight of such papers as you left with Sir John Wood, touching your negociations at Brussels, be a thing which in good manners I might ask of you, you can well conceive what a favour it would be to me; and I will give you a faithful assurance to make no other but an honest use of them, and will endeavour to deserve such a frank and friendly courtesy by all the services I can do you. I shall entreat your letter likewise to honest Will Trumball, of whom, though I presume somewhat, yet I know he will do much more in your respect. But the matter is not yet come to that ripeness, for I know not whether the king hath been yet moved about me; though those who have the management of these affairs have, as far as in them lies, settled me in a resolution upon this course. But till more be done I am wished to keep it as a secret, and so do to all but my near friends.

My father Savile hath been lately in town at the marriage of Sir Henry Neville's two daughters, whereof the eldest was married on Tuesday, the other on Wednesday last, and at both great feasts and much company.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, June 17, 1610.

The creation¹ was performed on Monday following, being the 4th, with much solemnity and good order. The absence of the French ambassador, who excused himself upon his mourning for his master, took away the contention with the Spaniard: and so all the rest of the ambassadors, with the Duke of Brunswick, were present. The tilting, masque, and fireworks followed; and all this while the greatest bravery that ever I saw in this or any other court. But the particularities you have, I am sure, by this

¹ Of Henry, Prince of Wales.

time, from others, as you need no better novellante than my lady,¹ who was present at all.

The parliament begun again where it left before Whitsuntide, and in what state it then stood, I advertised you in my former: wherein I mentioned a petition of the Lower House, touching new impositions, which I now send you here enclosed, with the king's answer thereunto; and, to make up the packet, I send you a copy of the prince's patent for the creation. We have had a great interruption in our parliament proceedings, by a motion made by the Lords, at a conference this last week, which was to suspend all those matters which we have had so long in treaty, as well the grievances as the contracts with the king, until a new meeting in October next; and that for the present we should do somewhat for supply of the king, both for the payment of his debts, and for laying up somewhat *in deposito*, for future events. And, amongst other arguments, some advertisement received from your lordship, touching the change of resolution in that court, since the late king's² death, concerning the action of Cleves, out of which you there seem willing to withdraw yourself, and to leave the burthen of the business to his majesty and the States, was used of special motive. The debate continued two days in the House, with loss of our dinners both days. In the first, three subsidies were proposed by some, by others two, but strongly gainsaid, in regard that the answer of the grievances was so long deferred.

The second day's dispute was begun with a message from the king to this effect: that so as we would not use delay in our business, we should have answer to our grievances before we parted, and likewise a price set us of the wardships, with the other matters of retribution to advise of against our next meeting. Only, that the point of honour might be saved to the king, we were advised to do somewhat (though never so little) for the present supply. Whereupon, one subsidy and two fifteenths were proposed, and the matter (as small as it was) so strongly withstood as if *Fortuna Græciæ* had lain upon it. It concluded, as it is many times in a cockpit, with a drawn match; for

¹ Lady Edmondes.

² Henri Quatre.

nothing was in the end put to the question ; for the first day, there were ten on the one side, and eleven on the other ; and the second, fourteen on the one side, and fifteen on the other ; and every one in answer of the other, *pro et contra*. Amongst which, many discovered affections, both on the one side and the other, different from that which was expected of them. And of all others, you will marvel to hear, that the silenced minister is restored again to the Catholic Church. The main ground of the opposition consisted upon professions of intention to furnish the king with much more supply than one subsidy ; so as there might be first an answer given to the grievances. And, though the number of speakers was equal on both sides, yet the voice of the House going most that way, the question was thereupon let fall ; and the day following, a message sent from the king, that we should proceed where we left before this debate : and, as he meant to give us good satisfaction in our grievances, so he expected better contentment from us before we parted. So as we do now *repandre les arrhes* ; and God send as we be in the right ; for you see *quod volumus valdè volumus*. You must not marvel, if in these great doings Mr. Fuller hath suffered your bill to lie asleep, which we had much ado to recover ; an order being made that all other businesses should be laid apart, for the better prosecution of these great causes. But a bill for Sir Stephen Proctor made a breach into the order ; whereupon, we got a day assigned for your bill, which is to-morrow, and I hope to have it no longer deferred.

Amongst other private causes which have interrupted our business, Mr. Spiller was accused by one Felton ; and the matter recommended by Sir Francis Hastings, for protecting recusants, and deceiving the king of great sums due to him upon their penalties. But he purged himself so well, that upon the first hearing before the committee, he was put *hors de cour et de procès*, and his accuser into the Fleet.

The oath of allegiance hath been taken by both Houses, and is now administered to the court, where it began with the lords of the council ; and some followers of our great

ones are startled with it, but they have some time allowed them to think of the matter, and then either to take it, or to leave the court.

My fellow-Irish are gone, and left me behind them; so as I now know what I shall not do, but no more what I shall do than when I wrote to you last; and though these parliament business be passed over, I expect little despatch in anything else. If my small intelligence may give you any contentment, you shall know that the longing for your letters was well and fully satisfied when they came, which my lord did testify to many that heard him.

Now, when I have told you the ill news of my poor boy,¹ whom it pleased God to take from us the last week, and to leave a sad couple, I have no more to say, but to wish you with yours, that are now coming after you, all joy and contentment.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, June 18, 1610.

Your bill hath this afternoon had a reading at the committee, and some debate. The lawyers generally oppose it, and by reason of some that were hot in it, the further trial was put off until Friday next, by which time those that are friends to the bill will advise what is fit to be done in it. At better leisure, you shall know what is said against it; for I am now come late home, and my lady² hath sent for my letters. Yet I must let you understand that, touching my private affairs, I had even now a resolute answer of my lord,³ that I must rest upon the employment at Brussels, and to prepare myself against the ending of this session of parliament, which is thought will be about a month hence. I do now, therefore, earnestly desire the favour I was bold to beg of you in my former, touching the sight of your negotiations; and your letter to Will Trumball I will pray you to send the next way, if you please.

¹ Dudley Carleton's son by his first wife.

² Lady Edmondes.

³ Salisbury.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, June 19, 1610.

The more I think of my new employment, the more I am distracted with the consideration of it: and it was no small unhappiness that I knew not which way to bend my course before your departure, by reason of the good direction and help I might have had from you; which now in absence, if I should pray you to perform by letters, I should seem little to consider the weight of your affairs. Yet let me entreat one hour of leisure to be bestowed upon me, to direct me in such matters, as in your judgment are fit for my instruction, both for my carriage in my public charge, and for that as may concern *rationes æconomicas*. If you will please to descend to particularities, what judgment to make of such of our English as live in that court; with whom (of strangers) to hold correspondency; of whom to beware; what course of intelligence is to be observed; and what else you shall think fit to advise me; and what advantage I should have at my first entrance by so real a favour. My wife is now going to my lady, with the like petition to her for direction in her great affairs, which her late loss can yet give her scarce leave to think on.

If you continue your purpose of having a grammar-scholar, you may have him that I told you of at Eton, whom my father Savile is willing to spare for his preferment; though otherwise he is of great use to him in his Chrysostome. I would gladly entertain a Frenchman, if France could afford such another as you have with you: and if you know of any fit for me, I pray you let me hear of him.

Mr. William Becher to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, June 28, 1610.

The newness of my being here hath hindered me all this while to give you account of some commandments wherein it pleased you to use me, both for want of leisure, of access, and of resolution in them.

I told my lord treasurer what you had heard of the

conceit taken by him of the report of the attempt against the new king, reported by another than yourself; which he assured me, he never had any way declared to be displeased at; and said, that your lordship should not lend any ear to such idle relations, whereof peradventure you might hear more of the like nature hereafter. That for the matter itself, he judged it to be nothing even upon the first report; and that he now found that it fell out so.

My request about the £50 for the house rent is yet in Mr. Kirkham's hands to be presented to his lordship, but he hath not found the opportunity hitherto for delivery. I have seen my Lady Edmondes once since my coming, and been divers times to see her again since; but she is so busy in taking her leaves, as there is no means to find her but at over-early hours. I find her not willing to be persuaded to stay after the sending away her stuff, which peradventure will much discommode her, she thinking it very much to stay a week after; and that will be all.

I cannot yet procure for your lordship the treaty of M. de Sully; but I hope you shall receive it by my lady at her coming. I would gladly likewise entreat your lordship for this favour: I had letters from the Duke of Guise and Prince of Joinville, at my coming over, to the king, queen, prince, and my lord treasurer. I had likewise commission from them both to negotiate with the king, and my lord treasurer from the duke, concerning a straight correspondence to be held with his majesty, and consequently with your lordship, from the Prince of Joinville, concerning his request for Venice. Both these propositions were very plausibly entertained, and assurance given me, that there should be answer accordingly made unto them both (as I take it) by your lordship's means. My request unto your lordship is, that when your lordship shall receive any order therein, you will be pleased to take notice to them, by the way, of my faithful discharging of their commandments.

The French ambassador¹ hath not yet renewed the mention of the treaty, since your lordship's last proposi-

¹ Monsieur de la Boderie.

tion at Paris; neither, as he saith, hath he received any answer hitherto therein, though he were concurrent in the proposition. But yesterday he received a packet, and now demandeth audience: peradventure, it is about that.

The parliament continueth still in opposition, and they are yet in the dispute of the king's right of laying impositions; so as hardly any other thing private or public hath been advanced. There are divers new embassies in nomination; but I hear of none disposed of, but that of the archduke's to Mr. Carleton. There is news come hither yesterday of the arresting of our merchants and their goods by the emperor's solicitation at Stade: but there is yet no speech what course will be taken in the matter. There is no certainty yet of an extraordinary ambassador for France, and the reason is, that they will attend to do it in such a time, as one may serve for condoling and congratulating. The greatest voice goeth for my Lord of Southampton.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, July 13, 1610.

I must acknowledge, with much thankfulness, the favour you have done me in the sight of your negotiation at Brussels, which was delivered me by your servant the same day I wrote last unto you; and I have made bold ever since to keep the books with me, and will deliver them safe to my lady at her going. If I had sooner had them (as sooner could not well have been), I should not then have troubled you with a second request of giving me some light of the state of that court by letters. For therein do I find an exact story of the time, and everything set out in so lively colours, that I had reason to content myself. Yet, in your letters of the 27th of June and the 8th of this present, you have so well instructed me farther, and given me such hope of Mr. Trumball's help, that I may account myself well advanced. Yet I must tell you that my contentment in reading your despatches hath been mixed with some grief, when I observe your course of weekly writing; and think that the same diligence may be expected of a new negociator. But

I hope the quietness of the times will serve for excuse of some idleness; and the mastery you got in so many conflicts over our rebellious countrymen will keep them with small endeavour from rising again; so as I hope, in some part, to be eased of one which may be reckoned in the number of Hercules' labours for fighting with monsters. I am appointed to take leave of the king at his next being here, which will be betwixt this and Friday next, when the parliament ends, and the same day he begins his progress.

Touching our parliament business, I am now in so great arrearage that I shall hardly give you a good account. In my last, as I remember, I signified unto you the leave the king gave us to treat in the Lower House, touching the right of the new impositions, which was long in marshaling and putting in good order, by search of records in the Tower and Exchequer, before it came to trial. The day being appointed for debate of this matter, and much straining of courtesy who should begin, the entrance into the business was made at last by Mr. Fuller,¹ who speaks, as you know, always honestly, but that time very sufficiently. He was answered by the recorder.² There followed, several days after, on the one side, Hakewell,³ Crew, Whitelocke, and Brock, with some others of less note. On the other side, the solicitor,⁴ the attorney,⁵ and Sergeant Dodderidge, with Henry Yelverton,⁶ whom I must name amongst others of that side, but with this difference, that as all those whom I have named did so well that it is hard to say who did best; so, without question, both of these, and all others that spake, this Henry the hardy had the honour to do absolutely the worst, and for tyrannical positions that he was bold to bluster out, was so well canvassed by all that followed him, that he hath scarce shewed

¹ Nicholas Fuller, Esq., member for the city of London.

² Sir Henry Montagu.

³ William Hakewell, Esq., member for St. Michael's, in Cornwall.

⁴ Sir Francis Bacon. His speech on the occasion may be found in his Works, vol. ii., p. 223.

⁵ Sir Henry Hobart, advanced, in 1613, to the post of lord chief justice of the Common Pleas.

⁶ Appointed solicitor-general, October 29, 1613; and attorney-general, March 12, 1616-17. Yelverton's and Hakewell's speeches may be seen in Holwell, vol. ii., p. 407-519.

his head ever since. All this debate was at grand committees, the speaker being in the House, but not in his chair; and when the powder was all spent on both sides, we grew in the end to this peaceable conclusion,—not to put the question of the right to condemn hereby the judgment of the Exchequer in the matter of currants, whereof all this is the consequence, but to frame a petition by way of grievance, implying the right, though not in express terms, which was accordingly done; and so the rest of the grievances, which stayed only for this, were drawn up into a large scroll of parchment (which the king said would serve for a piece of tapestry), and so presented by the solicitor, accompanied by twenty of the House.

The answer was delivered by the king himself, both the Houses assembled in the Banquetting House, on Tuesday last, where he divided matters of government from matters of profit. Those of government he would take time in; those of profit, which were impositions of several natures, he presently resolved, and fully to the satisfaction of that House in all particulars, save only in the new impositions, in which, though he promised to give way to a bill that never any hereafter should be laid but with the grant of parliament; yet, because he did not as freely take away all which were last imposed, they went away ill satisfied, which they testified in their next day's meeting, when as subsidies were proposed, and no more could be obtained but one subsidy, and a single fifteen, which a knavish burgess said, but in the hearing of few, would do the king much good, and serve as a *subpœna ad melius respondendum*. I hope at next meeting, which the king hath promised shall be in Oxford next, they will give his majesty better satisfaction; for truly, in the ingenuity of his answers and the reasons he alleged, there was no cause for this distaste.¹

My lord treasurer, at the same time, and in the same presence, made a long and good narration, shewing the

¹ This is the opinion of a courtier: some may consider the "knavish burgess" the more trustworthy authority. The fact is, the opposition members had much the best of the argument, and James found himself restrained, in the privilege he fancied he possessed of taking the money of his subjects as often as he pleased, without asking their consent.

reasons of these impositions, with all the circumstances, excusing himself for the invention of this means to raise money upon the last lord treasurer, for the occasion, upon the Irish wars in Odohartie's¹ rebellion; for the rating upon the merchants, who, being assembled from all parts of the kingdom, gave their assents; and for the warrantise upon the judges, who had confirmed the proceedings in the general by a partial judgment; so as, wherever the fault lay (if it were a fault), my lord stood *rectus in curiâ*, which made him take one thing somewhat tenderly, that fell from one of the Lower House in debate of this matter, concerning Empson and Dudley. But, in most men's conceits, the matter was ill carried to my lord, and it was rather *scandalum acceptum* than *datum*.²

My lord, farther to justify his courses, had a private meeting that same night, with a select number of the Lower House, in Hyde Park, which were Sir Henry Neville, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir Edwyn Sandys, Sir Hor. Crofts, Sir John Scot, Sir Francis Goodwin, and Mr. Alford, with one more whom I cannot remember; and, howsoever, the matter of impositions was the chief subject of their discourse and the cause of their meeting: yet, when knowledge was had of it in the House, they were all suspected as plotters of some new designs. And the great matter of the contract was in danger, by this jealousy, to have sped the worse, which most of these did seek to advance. And this day a conclusion is taken in the House of an offer to be made to the king of £180,000,³ annual revenue, for wardships, purveyance, &c., towards his demand. Now we are come so near a bargain, we shall be able to make judgment at our next conference with the Lords, whether this contract, which hath been so long entertained, was from the beginning *de veras*, as the Lords would have us believe, or *de bursas*,⁴ as some of our wise men do still suspect.

¹ O'Dogherty, chieftain of Innishowen, whose insurrection, in April, 1608, was soon put an end to by the king's able general, Marshal Wingfield.

² The Lord Treasurer Salisbury (Cecil) appeared to think some excuse necessary. He was farming the Customs, and thought it most to his interests to endeavour to reconcile the people to being fleeced.

³ James demanded £300,000; the Commons subsequently raised their offer to £200,000.

⁴ So in original.

In the heat of this business, we have buried three of our fellow-burgesses of the plague, Pemble, the lawyer, Glasier, of Chester, and Bellingham, my lord admiral's secretary.

Your bill of naturalization is likewise in danger to be buried; for the lawyers generally oppose against it, saying, "that the law in that point is strong enough already; that you help not yourselves by this bill, but hurt others; not yourselves, because the defect of the former law, which is the want of proof where and when a child is born, is not supplied by this. You hurt others, they say, because that the declaring your children naturalized is a prejudice to such as are not within the compass of the bill." And when we ask the question, "Why this objection may not as well hold in every private bill of this kind?" they answer that, "*individua*, by name, do no hurt to the general; but a declaration of right in favour of a species, without number, or nominating the persons, brings all that are not of that kind into worse condition." And though these things may receive answer, yet I find so small inclination in the lawyers principally to press the bill, that it is better sleep in the hands of the committee, than be brought to the House and rejected; yet if this small time will afford any leisure, it will not be amiss to have some debate in the House, to know particularly how the law stands, and thereby give occasion for a general bill against the next session, to which I find every man inclined.

I cannot get out of parliament affairs; else I should tell you some news of a secret marriage betwixt my Lord Beauchamp's younger son and the Lady Arabella, for which the poor gentleman doth penance in the Tower; and the lady's hot blood, that could not live without a husband, must be cooled in some remote place in the country.¹ The

¹ The conduct of James to his fair kinswoman, Arabella Stewart, who, like himself, was descended from Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII., was as heartless as his persecution of Sir Walter Raleigh. Her proximity to the throne made him regard her with the most jealous watchfulness; he seemed always afraid that his own tenure of it was uncertain as long as she existed; and though he cannot be accused of having had recourse to active measures for getting rid of her, he took every precaution his mean jealousy could suggest to prevent her forming any attachment. There was another individual in the court he regarded with similar hostility, from the same motives—this was William Seymour, son of Lord

young Lord Clifford¹ is this next week to be married to my lord treasurer's daughter, and immediately after marriage to travel.

We are in great expectation how the factions of the court, where you are, which hang so equal, will be swayed with that light piece that is flung into one balance. And one thing I am glad to observe in those divisions, that the Guises and the chief of the religion can shake hands upon faction. It answers, to my seeming, many discourses of the former troubles, and will be a bar to any in that state hereafter, to make religion a pretence of their quarrel. I conceived, at your going over, that though you had lost a friend in the late king, yet that you had lost nothing in the despatch of affairs, because you were freed from the labyrinth of references from the king to the council, and from the council to the king. But now you have so many kings, I find so my error and your perplexity. Yet so long as here is no faction, but an united consent in the good acceptance of your service, you have your reward.

Clement Edmondes, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, July 16, 1610.

This gentleman, the bearer hereof, hath such interest in me, as I may not refuse to satisfy his desire to make him known unto you, and to entreat your good favour on his behalf, if haply there be cause to require it. His occasions at this time fall out thus. There is in Paris one Thomas Boughe, an Englishman, born at Pensham, in Worcestershire, that in the time of Queen Mary went into France, and hath there continued unto this present; and being

Beauchamp, who also possessed claims to the crown, as a descendant of Mary, the sister of the Princess Margaret. It so happened that these particular objects of his disquietude became intimate, and their intimacy ripened into affection. The king's spies soon made him acquainted with so important a secret, and then nothing could exceed his alarm. The lovers were forbidden by him to see each other again, and summoned before the privy council to be reprimanded. Arabella, having extorted a promise from James that, provided she chose one of his subjects, he would not oppose her union, secretly got married to Seymour; she soon discovered the value of the promise, when she heard that her husband was committed to the Tower, and found herself in the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth.

¹ Henry, afterwards fifth Earl of Cumberland. He died in 1643, leaving only one daughter by this marriage.

now grown old, and withal into some good estate, as is said, hath written over hither unto Mr. Talbot, of Grafton, entreating him to inquire out some of his kin, and to send them over unto him. Whereupon Mr. Talbot hath sent over this party, as near unto the said Thomas Boughe, and most capable of any good that he shall confer upon him; for all the brethren of the said Boughe are either dead or so old as they cannot travel, and have no children at all. This gentleman is a sister's son of his, brought up in Lincoln's Inn, and at his father's decease betook himself to the country, where he hath lived in good reputation, and would be glad to better his fortunes by this occasion. I beseech you, sir, show him what favour you may reasonably afford him, without any trouble or inconvenience to yourself, and you shall much oblige me on his behalf.

We are now growing to an end of the parliament, which is appointed to be the 20th of this present, having given the king one subsidy and one fifteenth, with an offer of £180,000 per annum for tenures *par devance*, and such other things as have been formerly named in this treaty; which I hope will be accepted, with some addition of one or two subsidies more to answer the £40,000 per annum; which is short of the king's price, which is £220,000 per annum.

The main body of our grievances are yet in suspense. That of alehouses is taken away, with the imposition of sea-coal. The license of wines shall continue my lord admiral's time, and then cease.

I doubt not but you hear of the Lady Arabella's marriage with Mr. William Seymour, second son to the Lord Beauchamp. Having protested under his hand, for the king's better satisfaction, when he was converted for the same cause in the * * *, that he never meant to proceed with her in those terms without his majesty's favour and consent, as knowing his displeasure to be his ruin; and being charged therewith in the presence of his lady, she took upon to answer it, and said he did no more in that case than Abraham and Isaac had both done, who disclaimed their wives for the time, &c. Andrew Melville,

hearing that he was come to the Tower for that cause, said, that he and Mr. Seymour were both fallen upon one rock, the one being committed for *ara sacra*, and the other for *ara bella*. But Melville, you know, was first committed for verses he made of the candles, the book, and the cusins upon the altar in the King's Chapel; and upon that first conceit made this distich:¹—

Tecum causa mihi communis carceris una;
Regalis bella scilicet, Ara sacra.

[The sequel of this romantic marriage was a very unhappy one. Much sympathy was excited for the lovers, and stolen interviews allowed by their jailers. For greater security the king ordered Arabella to proceed to Durham, and, on her refusing to leave her chamber, had her removed by force. She became so seriously ill on the way, that she was allowed to stop at Highgate, till sufficiently recovered to continue her journey; but, watching her opportunity, she stole away, by “disguising herself,” as a chronicler of the event says, “by drawing a pair of great French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots, with red tops, and a rapier by her side.”² She made the best of her way to Blackwall, where a ship was waiting for her and for Lord Seymour, who effected his escape from the Tower about the same time. Some accident delayed their junction at the period that had been previously appointed; and whilst the young wife was waiting in the ship for her husband, who had got safe off to Flanders by another vessel, it was attacked by an English cruiser, that had been despatched after Arabella immediately her flight became known: and the unfortunate lady was recaptured, and

¹ It is given thus in “Fuller's Church History,” b. x., p. 70:—

“Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, Ara
Regia bella tibi, regia sacra mihi.”

And in Winwood, vol. iii., p. 201, there is another version, which will be found in a subsequent page.

² Winwood, vol. iii., p. 279.

consigned to the Tower. On petitioning for her liberty, James returned the brutal answer, that “as she had tasted the forbidden fruit, she must pay the forfeit of her disobedience.” She was treated with such harshness that it affected her reason, and in the fourth year of this infamous tyranny she died.]

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, July 17, 1610.

You may see by the enclosed what provision I make at a time of leisure against the going of a messenger: and now I am suddenly summoned by my lady to send away my letters, yet cannot but add somewhat which hath happened in this interim. And first, concerning my private affairs, I am given secretly to understand that there is a protraction, if not a diversion in the course, wherein I had reason to think myself settled; when, as I had not only often warnings to put myself in readiness, but a time assigned for my taking leave. I will not easily suspect such irresolution, and am the more unwilling to believe, because it will fall heavy upon me, both in regard of my poor estate and reputation. But considering my own fortune as well as others, I may say of our great ones as the philosopher saith of gods—

Dii quasi pilas nos homines agunt.

The best is, I shall not be long held in suspense, for at the king's coming I shall know what to trust to, and with the first I will advertise your lordship. Mean time, let all this be *pro non dicto*; and let my resolution concerning my Frenchman stay for the next.

Yesterday we had a conference with the Lords, and nothing concluded in the matter of contract, by reason of the king's absence, but much art used on both sides; on ours, to value our offer, which was performed by Sir Edwyn Sandys, and at large, you will not doubt; on the Lord's side, *pour encherir la marchandise*, and this by my lord

treasurer, who came upon some disadvantage, because our men were prepared, but did so well acquit himself *ex re natá*, and so clearly open all the particularities of the contract, that he gave very extraordinary contentment; though for the issue of it we know no more than before what judgment to make, for it is wrapt up in the clouds, and either we shall have it in a sweet shower or a storm the last day of this session. Yet there is likelihood of another conference before that day, when matters will be brought nearer to a point. Your bill is laid asleep for this session, without further hope of proceeding, and it is much better so than to be questioned and rejected, as it was in danger, because it will be *res integra* for the next session.

The king hath sent a list of acts, by way of remembrance, to frame against next meeting, by some committees of the Lower House, which gives us assurance of his majesty's intention to continue this parliament. I send you the heads of the acts, with a breviat of the grievances; and to make up my packet, Mr. Chamberlayne hath desired me to send the questions in the Oxford Act, with much recommendation of service. You must know, by the way, that we of the Lower House do find ourselves much scandalized by both the universities, for some public speeches used by men in chief place amongst them, in disgrace of our proceedings: as at Oxford Act the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. King,¹ having to say somewhat at the ceremony of the doctor's putting on of his boots, said, that there would be now no further use of that ceremony, because that *Domus inferior* was taking order to make them *inferiores*, and to set them on foot. And at Cambridge the proctor in his oration was at this interrogation, *Quid factum, in me quid furtum eorum dicam?* making us no better than church robbers for our acts of reformation in the church; whereof complaint being made in the Lower House at such time as the Bill of Subsidy was in question, wherein the universities of custom have exception, it grew now a great doubt, whether we should afford them that accustomed favour. In conclusion, we thought not

¹ Dean of Christ Church, and in 1611 advanced to the bishopric of London.

fit to punish public societies for private men's faults; but order was given to the speaker to write to both universities, to admonish them of their indiscretion.

The Cinque Ports were in like danger, for being forward men in giving of subsidy; and some men moved, that their purses should walk as well as their voices. But in the end it was concluded to continue their privileges.

There is a reformation lately made in the privy chamber, the gentlemen there being from forty-eight reduced to the number of thirty-two, whereof half are English, the other Scottish; and of those that are cashiered, fourteen English, and two Scottish. Those which remain are to lie in the privy chamber by quarters, and to observe the forms of attendance which was used in Queen Elizabeth's time.

Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

London, July 25, 1610.

It is now a week since that I sent a packet to your lordship, with two letters, of two days' difference only in date, and of more difference in advertisement, touching my private fortune. Since which time every day hath bred alteration, and my course to Brussels was so far advanced, that both my privy seal was drawn for that employment, and I had order for my plate. But I see in these affairs, as in all others, *multa cadunt inter calicem*, &c., for having my hour assigned to be presented to the king, a consideration of the archduke's slackness to send hither (who first revoked his ambassador, and should therefore first send), diverted my course, and I was at the same instant, as I should have taken leave for that service, assigned to Venice. So as now this is the course, as I am now persuaded, without alteration; for my lord doth not spare to publish it, and this day letters go to Sir Henry Wotton, to let him know his successor is appointed. I have likewise appointment to be at Holmby the 7th of the next, to take leave of the king, and so to order my affairs, as to be at Venice about the beginning of October. This alteration, you will think, could not but much amaze me

for the suddenness and difference in the nature of the employments. Besides, I was far advanced in my provisions for one, which will not serve for the other; and being more than by common bruit assigned for a place of service, my reputation was therein somewhat interested. But upon better advisement, and calling to mind the difficulties I observed in your negotiation, which did represent unto me many discomforts, to have ever to do with enemies and traitors, and not to be able to step out of doors, but *super aspidem et basiliscum*; and when I do again bethink myself of the nature of the people with whom I shall now live, and the settledness and quiet of the employment, I must speak as thankfully of it as the poet did of his fortune and patron:—

Deus nobis hæc otia fecit,
Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus.

And I hope God doth dispose every thing for the best. This will be the less active life, and so will it be the less passive, and thus you see what poor comfort I propose to myself.

The parliament was prorogued on Monday last, July 23, until the 16th of October next; until which time the consummation of the contract is in like sort prorogued. But the particulars are set down, which we shall have of the king, and the price agreed on £200,000 of annual revenue. The manner of the levy and the assurance are likewise put off till next meeting, without so much as any course taken to be more ready in them in this time of vacation; which is thought somewhat a preposterous order, to promise money and not to consider how or where to have it.

The king began his Progress yesterday, which was so long deferred in regard of the parliament, which could not end till then. All the strange ambassadors took their leave in the morning. My Lord Wotton took leave likewise, but sets not forward as yet this fortnight. This day the Lord Clifford is married at Kensington; and you shall have him shortly after with my Lord Wotton in France. The great couple that matched so secretly at Greenwich, remain still separate, the lady at Sir Thomas Parry's house at Lambeth, and young Beauchamp in the Tower. At his

first coming thither, Melville, the poetical Scot's minister, entertained him with this distichon—

Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris; Ara
Bella tibi: causa est Araque sacra mihi.

Here is a letter come from the body of the council in Scotland to our Lords here, to advise them to be careful of his majesty's preservation, upon example of the French king's assassinate. Our eyes are still open upon your doings in that State; and as long as we can spy a doubloon in the Bastille, we think you have a good peace-maker.

*William Earl of Pembroke*¹ to *Sir Thomas Edmondes*.

Whitehall, January 17, 1610-11.

Having so fit a messenger, I cannot but send you the news that yesterday I brought the marshal² from Croydon to Lambeth, with one and thirty coaches and some thirty principal gentlemen, whereof my Lord Hay, son to the Earl of Errol, and my Lord Windsor were two. He is very finely lodged, and hitherto very well satisfied, though he had a villanous passage, and as ill a journey by land from Lewes.

The next day after my last letter, upon a long deliberation of council, the king being present, the resolution of the dissolving of the parliament³ was taken, and since done by proclamation: which makes us hope the king's necessities be not so extreme.

There is a new printed book come out of orders to the Court of Wards, which turns the whole commodity to the king: so grateful a sacrifice hath my lord treasurer made of his own private.⁴

*Edward Lord Wotton*⁵ to *Sir Thomas Edmondes*.

Whitehall, January 17, 1610-11.

I was very glad by your last to understand that the French, after a long error concerning your present, were

¹ Lord Chamberlain of the household, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

² De Laverdin.

³ It was dissolved February 9, 1610-11.

⁴ For which he wanted the trifle of £40,000 in money, and £200 a year in land.

⁵ He had been ambassador to the court of Portugal, and was one of the earliest peers created by James.

at the last come to reason. We have been advertised of certain brouilleries and jars that have been among the great ones, and are now composed. So as methinks we may compare these French puffs to a western wind, loud at morning, and down at night. For my part, I think it will trouble any ambassador there, how wise or sharp-sighted soever, to make a certain judgment of that nation, in itself so uncertain, whether it be like to continue in quiet or no. And the wiser, the sooner deceived in judging of a people whose actions are rather governed by chance than reason.

The marshal¹ arrived yesterday at Lambeth, having had a dangerous passage. He landed at Lewes, and so passed through that miry country of Sussex. The Earl of Pembroke was sent to meet him at Croydon, with divers noblemen and gentlemen. For myself, I will be ready to do him all the honour and service I can, and doubt not but he shall, from the highest to the lowest, receive contentment and satisfaction.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.²

London, January 29, 1611.

The privy seals are dispersed all over, and the money daily paid in beyond expectation, especially by the meaner sort.

The prince went on Saturday to Royston, called thither by the king from his martial sports of tilt, tourney, and barrier, which he followed so earnestly, that he was every day five or six hours in armour. The rest of the time was spent in and every night a play, in all which exercises the Lord Cranbourne³ attended him, keeping an honourable table all the while they were at Greenwich, and grows daily into his favour.

The king is looked for here this Candlemas. During his absence, he hath been busy in writing somewhat in

¹ De Laverdin.

² He had been knighted, and appointed ambassador to the republic of Venice, in which city he was then residing.

³ The only son of Cecil Earl of Salisbury.

French against Vorstius.¹ In his journey, Calvert,² clerk of the council, is settled about him, and wholly employed in reading and writing.

There is nobody yet admitted in Corbet's room. Dudley Norton avoids it, saying he had rather warm his hands by his lord's kitchen-fire, than sit a-cold in the king's hall; which answer is like to do him no harm.

This last week the lord chamberlain³ was dangerously sick on the sudden of a squinancy, or quinsy, but by twice letting blood hath found present remedy. They say the lord treasurer hath pretty well recovered his health, but not his spirits. Judge Fonner⁴ died the second day of this term, and not many hours after him Blackwell, the arch-priest.

One Copley, a priest, and domestical chaplain to the Lord Montacue, falling in love with an ancient Catholic maid there that attended the children, they have both left their profession and fallen to marriage. Two other priests here in the Clink, called Collier and Shelton, are likewise relenting.

Many of our pirates are come home, upon their pardon for life and goods, but the greater part stand still aloof in Ireland, because they are not offered the same conditions, but only life. Howsoever this course may serve the proper turn, yet it is feared it may prove of ill consequences hereafter.

Viscount Rochester⁵ and Sir John Harrington have jointly gotten the grant or reversion of Sir John Roper's office, when it falls. Sir Henry Wotton hath warning to prepare himself for Savoy, whither he means to set out about the beginning of March. There is a warrant for

¹ A Calvinistic divine, who had succeeded to the professor's chair at Leyden on the death of Arminius. James affected to be so horrified by certain religious opinions the professor had ventured to publish, that he not only wrote a pamphlet against him, but instructed his ambassador, Winwood, to get him driven from the University. The poor Hollanders were at last bullied into this injustice, and in the end, seven hundred families who professed the same sentiments were driven into exile.

² Subsequently Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

³ The Earl of Suffolk.

⁴ Edward Fonner, made one of the justices of the King's Bench, May 16, 1590.

⁵ Carr, the new favourite, lately created Baron Branspeth and Viscount Rochester.

certain of the council to view the jewels in the Tower, and to make choice of what they think fit for him to carry. If his presents make him not the more welcome, I doubt his voyage will make him less gracious than when he was there last.

I hear that your Scottishman at Turin came the first voyage with the Savoy ambassador, and was here knighted, and then gave him the slip and gone into Scotland, having spoken so much, and so far overvalued himself and his credit at this court, that he durst not return back for shame.

If you have not heard it, Pory's¹ employment into France was to carry a treatise of the Bishop of Ely and Casaubon's to the Cardinal Perron, in answer of a certain letter of his sent to the king, and withal good part of Queen Elizabeth's life, collected with the help of Sir Robert Cotton, and written by Mr. Clarencieux,² for a present to Thauros, to be inserted into his work, which, if it so prove, Camden hath taken a deal of pains to small purpose, and is like to lose the honour and profit of his labours, to see them drowned and swallowed up in such a gulph.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 26, 1611.

We were in great doubt last week to have lost my lord,³ insomuch that the physicians themselves feared the next fit, as if he had not strength to have borne it. Whereupon the lord chamberlain, the Lord Walden, the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, watched with him this day sevensnight, and some ladies in the outer rooms, and he had even prepared himself, both for God and the world; but it pleased God beyond expectation, that he slept out that fit, and never heard of any more fever since; only he remains weak with some indisposition of the spleen. Butler of Cambridge gave hard censure, but, thanks be to God, he proves a false prophet, and what for that and other rude behaviour, was quite discarded. It is said my lord means to discharge himself of the heavy burthen of affairs, and

¹ Mr. John Pory. See p. 41.

² Camden.

³ Salisbury.

to lay some good part of the business upon the Lord Carew.¹ But I hear Sir Thomas Lake puts in for his portion, and some others never thought on make show of themselves. But my lord's recovery is likely to nip these forward fruits in their first spring.

Before the judges went out of town they were called before the king, where, among other remembrances to be observed on their circuits, they were charged to look diligently to the oath of allegiance, and to certify how the justices of the peace in all counties had dealt in it according to the statute. On Friday, Mrs. Vaux, the Lord Vaux's mother, was called at the sessions at Newgate, and there, for refusing that oath, was condemned, together with two others in her company, in a *præmunire*, to lose all her goods and lands during life, and to perpetual imprisonment.

The same day, one Legat, an Arian, being sentenced and excommunicated in the Consistory, was delivered over to the sheriffs, but we hear not yet of his execution. He hath been long forborne and mildly dealt withal, but continuing obstinate, and holding thirteen heretical positions against the divinity of our Saviour Christ, the king would have the bishops proceed against him; and though some lawyers are of opinion that we have no law to execute heretics, and that whatsoever was done in that kind in Queen Elizabeth's time was done *de facto*, and not *de jure*; yet he will adventure to burn him with a good conscience.²

We hear that seven sail of our pirates are gone for the East Indies, and that there is proclamation in all the ports of Spain for the better usage of our people than they have found hitherto.

There is an ambassador from Denmark soliciting for aid for those wars, and some forces are said shall be sent under the conduct of the Lord Willoughby and Sir Edward Cecil, and a regiment of Scots under the Lord Dingwall,³ with another of Irish, under the Earl of Clanrickard. Yet I

¹ Baron Carew, of Clopton.

² The goodness of the king's conscience is not so clear to us.

³ Sir Richard Preston, created Baron Dingwall, June 8, 1609.

will not believe that such men will adventure themselves upon so poor conditions as are yet propounded, for they may go on warfare upon their own cost.

Mr. Henry Howard arrived here out of France on Saturday, and, as I hear, is very gallant.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 11, 1611.

In answer to yours of the 7th of the last, I will begin with the best news first: that the lord treasurer is so well recovered that he walks daily in his garden, and it is thought will shortly remove to Kensington. He forsook the court to be more private at home; but he cannot avoid the perpetual visits that still follow him. The king and prince were with him on Sunday, and the queen every second day the last week. His disease proves nothing so dangerous as was suspected, being now discovered to be nothing but the scorbut, or, as we term it, the scurvy, which is of easy and ordinary cure, if it be not too far overpast. His sickness drowned all other news. Every man's care and curiosity ran that way, insomuch that it seems he was never so well beloved as now, when they thought him so near lost. He begins to embrace business again, which found a great want of him, and no doubt will cross some of their courses, that were so forward to part the bear's skin. You will not think what a number of competitors stood or were named, or what manner of men, for the place of secretary. But most speech ran upon Sir Thomas Lake and Sir Henry Neville, who protests it was not so much as in his thought as Master¹ told me yesterday, when I found him with him. But they that look more narrowly into my lord's inclination are more afraid of Fabritio,² to whom in that regard I lent a charity that may chance stand in some need.

Here is a Danish ambassador to demand men and mariners, and is very earnest by the queen's means that they should be pressed; his conditions being otherwise so poor

¹ Sir Walter Cope.

² Sir Henry Wotton.

that he doubts he shall find few followers but such as had rather play small game than set out.

The Duke of Bouillon is expected here shortly, who is thought to have a double errand, as well from the Palatine of Rhine as from the queen-regent. His coming hastens Sir Henry Wotton away, whose company of note is a son of the Lord William Howard, two sons of Sir Charles Cavendish,¹ one Yorke, and Sir Robert Rich tarries for him in France. The presents he carries are, ten light, ambling geldings, with a variety of saddles and rich furniture. They went away yesterday, conducted by Sir Peter Saltonstall, one of the king's escuyres [equerries]. There is likewise a rich sword, with the hilt, pommel, handle, and chape of gold, set full of fair diamonds, to the value of sixteen thousand pounds; certain selected sworn jewellers have so valued it.

The Earl of Dorset is in the Low Countries, upon his way homewards, and the Lord Clifford² is sent for out of France. For Italy begins to grow out of request; it is being held dangerous to our nation both for health of body and soul.

The Lord Vaux was lately committed to the Fleet from the council-table, for refusing the oath of allegiance, and like enough to follow his mother's fortune in the *præmunire*.

I heard that your old friend the chancellor of the duchy³ is about to make away his plate for money, and to get a protection for his debts.

Our 'prentices were very unruly on Shrove-Tuesday, and pulled down a house or two of good fellowship,⁴ in which service two or three of them came short home. The same day the prince, with Viscount Rochester, Sir Thomas Somerset, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir Edward Cecil, and one Ramsey, on his side, ran a match at the ring for a supper, against the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Walden, the Lord Cranbourne, the Lord Chandos, the Lord Hay, and Mr.

¹ Youngest son of Sir William Cavendish, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Hardwicke, Esq.

² Henry, subsequently fifth Earl of Cumberland.

³ Sir Thomas Parry.

⁴ *i. e.*, of ill repute.

Henry Howard. The prince won, and the supper and plays were made at the Marquis of Winchester's house the Friday after.

We have many great robberies done daily, and the last week there was a plot to have seized on three good ships bound for Middleburgh, in the river, and to have carried them away; which enterprise was to have been executed by above a hundred persons. But the matter being discovered, there are almost forty of them taken.

On Monday, there was a great race or running at Croydon, where, by occasion of foul play or foul words, one Ramsey, a Scottishman, struck the Earl of Montgomery with his riding-rod.¹ Whereupon the whole company was ready to go together by the ears, and like enough to have made it a national quarrel. But for want of weapons it was pacified.

I sent your sister a note of such things as I had shipped for you in the Elizabeth and John, whose master is Henry Beale. There is a little treatise of the North-West Passage, written by Sir Dudley Digges; but I may say *beatus qui intelligit*, especially the first period, which is but a bad beginning to stumble at the threshold. Some of his good friends say he had better have given five hundred pounds than published such a pamphlet. But he is wonderfully possessed with the opinion and hopes of that passage.

John Chamberlain, Esq.,² to Sir Dudley Carleton.

Augsburg, September 3, 1611.

It were too long a piece of work to give you a long and particular account of our hard and tedious journey, being, indeed, the hardest task that ever I undertook, by reason of the suspicion of sickness in divers places where we were

¹ Francis Osborne, in his "Traditional Memorials of King James," b. 23, mentions this fact, but is mistaken in saying that in lieu of the loss of reputation of a gentleman, which Philip Herbert suffered by not offering to strike again, the king made him a knight, a baron, a viscount, and an earl in one day, for he had been made Baron Herbert of Sherland and Earl of Montgomery very near seven years before this accident, viz., on the 5th of May, 1605.

² Then on his return towards England, from Venice, whither he had accompanied Sir Dudley Carleton.

to pass, so that we were forced to seek by-ways, and ride sometimes all night through dark and dangerous passages. But the worst of all was when we thought ourselves past danger, then we were nearest being stayed, upon the borders of Bavier,¹ and not suffered to pass through any town, nor so much as a village, but were fain to seek unknown ways, and travel over the fields, till both we and our horses were utterly tired. And yet, with all these difficulties, I thank God we came to this town the 2nd of this present, in reasonable health, but well wearied. And now, when I hoped to find rest, I have been all this day tired with seeing of sights, which are here many well worth the seeing, and to-morrow morning, God willing, are to go hence towards Frankfort, being loth to leave this company, which is reasonable good, and but indifferent drinkers.

I delivered Signor Valezer's² letters, and had little conference with him, for that his colleague came to visit him, when we were newly set to it. He seems a man of sound understanding, and very courteous. Hoeschelius³ is keeper of the library, and withal keeps a school.⁴ He dined with me this day, and found better entertainment every way with the Dutch than I could give him for lack of Latin.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

The Hague, October 5, 1611.

And now, for want of other, I will set down what I have learned here of English matters, though it be likely you have heard most of them before. Sir Calliphenes Brook died here lately, leaving his wife in very poor estate, for they say he was seven or eight hundred pounds worse than naught. Sir Edward Hoby's son and heir lived not past three months. But Sir William Cornwallis hath a heir that holds out. The Countess of Bedford⁵

¹ Bavaria.

² Marcus Velselus, or Welser, one of the principal magistrates of Augsburg, and one of the most learned men of his time. He died June 13, 1614.

³ David Hoeschelius.

⁴ He was rector of the college of St. Anne, at Augsburg, and very famous as a Greek scholar. He died in 1617.

⁵ Lucy, daughter of Lord Harrington, and wife of Francis Earl of Bedford.

miscarried of the child there was so much hope of. She is now the queen's only favourite. Sir Robert Rich is lately dead at Bristol, and rich Sutton is gone the same way, having before his death bought the Charter House of the lord chamberlain for his intended hospital.

The Lord Zouch was treating with the Lady Vere,¹ who was promised to be made worth £10,000, but in the end lighted upon the Lady Hastings. The Lady Kennedy was divorced from her pretended husband, who was found to have another wife, and she is since re-married to Reynolds, my lord chancellor's secretary. *

Mr. Calvert is clerk of the council; Mr. Finet secretary to the lord treasurer; Humphrey May is made Remembrancer of Ireland and clerk of the signet extraordinary in reversion.

The pirates have refused the king's pardon that was offered them, and, as it is said, are gone for Florence, to be commanded by Sir Robert Dudley.² These States set out sixteen ships against them, which I think was the principal cause of their dislodging.

They speak of a parliament towards in England.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 6, 1611.

My Lady Cope³ gives you many thanks for her trochises of vipers. We had a solemn supper there yesternight, which they would make me believe was for my coming here. There was Sir Antony Cope and Sir William, Sir Rowland Lytton,⁴ Sir William Borlase, Mr. Backhouse. Sir Hugh Beeston should have been there, but that the sorrow of his son makes him avoid company.

Sir Walter Cope and Mr. Finet both told me of the

¹ Widow of Sir Thomas Vere, who died August 28, 1608.

² Sir Robert Dudley was the son of the famous Earl of Leicester, by his last wife, whom he repudiated, and declared his son illegitimate. Sir Robert attempted to establish his legitimacy, but not succeeding, he retired into Italy, where he became a favourite with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. See p. 74.

³ Wife of Sir Walter Cope.

⁴ Of Knebworth. He had been, in the preceding reign, lieutenant of Essex and Herts, the military force of which counties he commanded at Tilbury camp, and was captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners.

scandal was likely to be laid upon you, but my lord dealt therein very nobly, they tell me, and hath dispersed those clouds, and made the weather clear again. I understand for certain that my Lord of Northumberland himself hath done you this wrong.

I have had no time to learn out any news. Wherefore, I must be excused till better leisure. My Lord of Cranbourne used me well. Will Lytton is his principal minion. Sir Edward Cecil¹ is continually about him, very much to my lord treasurer's liking, and hath obtained the reversion of the Isle of Jersey after Sir John Peyton, who they say cannot last long.

And now, having nothing else, if I had time I would describe the adventures of my journey from the Hague, whence I parted the 12th of October, in hope, after so continual foul weather, to have found a fair passage. I was two days and two nights 'twixt Rotterdam and Arnheim. I stayed one night at Middleburgh, and the next morning went to Flushing. At Rotterdam I lighted upon Calendrini, whom I met at Frankfort, and we hired our cabins and made provision together to pass for England. We embarked there the next day in a pink, with a south-east wind, and went away in company of three men-of-war and four passage-boats, with great shooting and sound of guns and trumpets. We sailed well till towards midnight, when there arose a sore tempest, which lasted about two hours, and brought the wind to the west, full against us, so that, after much striving, we were forced to turn back the next day, and came home not far from Ostend, so that we could well discern the town. We had the honour to come in last of all the company, much about the same hour we set out the day before. That night came in an English ship to Flushing, that set out from Dunkirk for England, and, meeting with the storm, had her mainmast and foremast blown down and cut overboard, and so with one little sail was driven before the wind to Flushing.

In this ship was Hugh Richardson, Mr. Howard's man, being sent by his master from Augusta into England with

¹ Third son of Thomas Earl of Exeter, and grandson to the Lord Treasurer Burghley. He was, in 1627, created Viscount Wimbledon.

letters, and had orders to meet him at Paris, but he was fain to stay with us a fortnight at Flushing for wind: for though some made shift to get over to Sluys, and so over land to Calais, yet, considering it was six or seven hours sailing, a dangerous passage, (as the wind lay) foul ways, and unsafe by land, I thought it better to adventure ten or twelve hours' longer sailing, if the wind come any thing fair, than to run into certain difficulties and charges which might be better avoided. And indeed, if I had had no other business than mine own, I would rather have lain a month for a settled wind, than undertaken such a voyage, being very well lodged and treated at Flushing, specially by the lieutenant-governor, Sir John Throckmorton, upon no recommendation, nor former acquaintance, insomuch that he would not suffer me at any time to be two days absent from his table, but would either come, or send to fetch me; being, in my judgment, a very sober and sufficient gentleman, and no way inferior to his predecessor, Sir William Browne.

We put to sea once or twice more, but, after we had been out an hour or twain, we were forced to come about and recover our haven whence we came. Lastly, upon Simon's and Jude's day, we embarked ourselves in the English ship that had now trimmed herself, and, in company of four pinks more, set sail, having three score passengers aboard and three pilots, one of Dover, one of Sandwich, and another that came with a ship from Hamburg to Amsterdam. We made a reasonable way all that night, but the next morning, when we were between Dunkirk and Calais, the wind came strangely against us, and so labouring all that day, about evening we had a sore tempest that continued all that night and the next day, and drove us up as high as Yarmouth; where, offering to enter into the haven, the tide being spent, we struck upon the bar, where, if we had stuck, we had been all lost. But it pleased God we got over, and with full sails, beat upon the head or piles so, as, if the ship had not been new and strong, she had been split or beaten in pieces. In this fear and confusion, some endeavoured to leap upon the piles when she came close (for she struck upon them

four times), some few made shift to scramble up, but four of our company leaped short, whereof three were drowned in our sight, and one beaten against the piles all to pieces. We got them all taken up and buried. In the mean time, some boats came from the shore, but would not approach us without orders given to take in but three or four at once. The seas went very high, and it was dangerous landing; so that, till I had seen the success of four boats, one after the other, I would not stir; and, as it pleased God, I had the best passage, most of the rest being washed over head and ears, or overtumbled in the landing. Many other adventures and particularities there were, which were too long to relate; so that I will only tell you that, tarrying that night at Yarmouth, we went the next day to Norwich, and so toward London, and the first night our guide lost his way on Newmarket Heath; so that we wandered up and down in rain and blustering weather, and extreme dark, till after eleven o'clock, whereas we might have been at our lodging anon after seven, and so finally, the 3rd of this present, we came safe to this town.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 13, 1611.

Since my last, of the 6th of this present, I received yours of the 18th of October, and the next day after my writing, delivered your letter to the lord treasurer, having attended four days before I could come to his presence, inasmuch as I was willing to have delivered it to anybody that would have taken charge of it. And indeed I am persuaded Mr. Kirkham did not his part; and Mr. Finet, in his regard, was loth, as he said, to put his sickle into another man's harvest, till at last an honest doorkeeper offered me the courtesy to bring me to my lord's presence, and, I think, performed it. My audience was short and sweet, with inquiry after your health and my lady's, and remembrance of acquaintance, and that we were both grown grey, and that he would confer with me at more leisure, and so forth. There is a world of suitors con-

tinually attending; so that you may see the tide of affairs runs still strangely that way.

I delivered Mr. Chancellor's¹ letter as he came forth from my lord. During my waiting, Signor Fabritio² was there among other suitors. There passed but short salutations between us, neither was he willing to talk single, but, as *en passant*, told stories of a certain Theatine, of Verona, that would not discharge the trust committed to him in confession. There is some speech that he shall go shortly to Brussels. In the mean time, he hath lessened his train, having no more about him but his Dutch butler, Price, and his page. Mr. Morton³ is retired to his cottage at Cambridge, Mr. Parkhurst into Kent, and Bilford he hath preferred to the prince, with asseveration and wagers of three of his choice pictures against three of the prince's horses, that he shall draw or portray the prince better than Isaac, the French painter, in the Black Friars; but the opinion is that he must have many grains of allowance to hold weight with Isaac. The prince, in favour, grows very like the queen, his mother, and Signor Fabritio insinuates what he can with him, and the Scottishmen about him. I hear for certain he is intrusted with the history of all that passed 'twixt the Pope and State of Venice during the time of the interdict, and that it is to come forth very shortly.⁴

¹ Sir Julius Cæsar. This eminent civilian, the son of a Genoese physician, Cæsar Adelmarr, in much repute at the courts of Mary and Elizabeth, was born at Tottenham, in the year 1557, and having been educated at Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A., he proceeded to Paris, where he obtained that of Doctor of Civil Law. He embraced the law as a profession; and, in the reign of Elizabeth, was made master of Requests, judge of the admiralty, and master of St. Catherine's Hospital. After the accession of her successor, he was knighted, became chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, was sworn of the privy council, and, in 1614, appointed master of the Rolls, in which office he continued more than twenty years. He died in 1636, leaving a high character both for integrity and talent; a conjunction unfortunately not to be found in either of his two famous contemporaries, Coke and Bacon.

² Sir Henry Wotton.

³ Albertus Morton. He was secretary to his uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, during his embassy at Venice; afterwards agent for the court of Savoy; then secretary to the Queen of Bohemia; was appointed one of the clerks of the council; received the honour of knighthood in 1617, which was followed by the important post of secretary of state. He died in 1625.

⁴ Sir George Cosens, in a letter to Thuanus, dated London, October 3, 1612, printed in vol. vii. of Buckley's edition of Thuanus, mentions that Sir Henry Wotton had told him that he was then drawing up and preparing for the press an account of the quarrel between the Pope and the Venetians; and Casaubon, in a letter to Thuanus, dated at London, the 9th of November, 1612, takes notice that Sir

I doubt not but Paul Pindar¹ came by you in his journey to Constantinople, whither he is gone ambassador over land, and is like to take Sir Thomas Glover napping. Mr. Robert Shirley,² as ambassador from Persia, hath had divers audiences, but I doubt his projects are to little purpose, for the way is long and dangerous, the trade uncertain, and must quite cut up our traffic with the Turk. The ambassador of Savoy arrived here on Saturday, and had audience on Monday. He had an hour's conference with the king in private, and as much with the lord treasurer alone; and this is all I hear of him.

The Earl of Southampton is appointed to go into Spain, to condole the death of that queen, which will be a step to a councillorship, the missing whereof he took very unkindly. Here is one Sir John Yorke and Sir William Ingleby, with divers others about them, all Yorkshiremen, committed; being, as so said, called in question, *post-liminio*, for the powder treason. There were certain priests or Jesuits lately taken and brought from Mrs. Vaux's house, the Lord Vaux's mother, whose estate is begged by the Lord of Montgomery, who lies now sick of smallpox. There was some resistance in the taking of them, and one Pickering, a young gentleman, dangerously hurt, for which service his father was knighted on Sunday last.

The baronets³ multiply but slowly, yet there be some few lately come in, as Sir Marmaduke Wyvell and Mr. Englefield. In the mean time, divers of them walk under protection, as Sir Thomas Monson, Sir Roger Dallison, Sir Richard Houghton, Sir Harry Goodere, Sir Michael Sands, Sir Hugh Beeston, as well baronets as bare knights, which breeds some mislike that protections grow so frequent. Indeed, money is become very scant, as well in

Henry had, in a letter to him, excused himself from communicating to Thuanus what he collected on that subject, as he was himself engaged in it.

¹ He was first a factor, then a merchant, next consul at Aleppo, received the honour of knighthood, was made one of the farmers of the customs, and was sent ambassador to Constantinople, in the room of Sir Thomas Glover.

² He had been sent by Shah Abbas to arrange a treaty of commerce with this country, and on his return to Persia, the Shah presented him with a fair Circassian as his wife, who was related to one of his own.

³ The rank of baronet was created by King James, in 1611, as a means of raising money.

court as in company, and there is speech of finding some little remedy, by raising gold, which is shortly to be proclaimed; the angel and sovereign to eleven shillings, and the Jacobite piece to two and twenty. There is fear of privy seals coming forth to the number of 5000, the highest not above £50, and the lowest under ten.

I must retract what I wrote of rich Sutton's death, who is not yet dead, but was lately in danger; and upon some apprehension that the Charter House might relapse to the lord chamberlain¹ by error of conveyance or by strong hand, hath bestowed it on the prince, whom he thinks able to defend it.

The Lord Norris hath likewise conferred his estate in Shotover, and those walks about Oxford, on the prince, gratis. The match betwixt the Lady Kennedy and Mr. Reynolds goes not forward, but he is now in speech with Mr. Eure's widow, that was clerk of the parliaments, and she is valued at £6000. Sir John Grey is lately dead of the smallpox, leaving a poor lady; and his father is now in pursuit for the Lady Wood, my Lady Edmondes's mother. ★

Sir Allen Percy² died on Monday, being never perfectly recovered from the fit of the palsy. Sir Thomas Overbury,³ by much suit, is referred to the court, and there is hopes in time to the queen's favour. Here is speech, that towards the spring the Lord Willoughby⁴ shall go over with 4000 men to the service of the King of Denmark.

I left Sir John Selby at the Hague, with good store of dollars, suing to get leave to raise 600 foot and 200 horse in these provinces, on the same service.

I have not yet seen the Bishop of Ely,⁵ who, till the king went yesterday to Royston, was continually at court; but now I will seek him out, and then Signor Candido⁶ shall hear of me.

¹ The Earl of Suffolk.

² Brother to the Earl of Northumberland.

³ He was high in favour of the king's minion, Rochester.

⁴ Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby, of Ersley, afterwards created Earl of Lindsey.

⁵ Dr. Andrews.

⁶ An obscure controversialist of Venice, who wrote against Bellarmin.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 20, 1611.

Sir William Cornwallis died the last week, and hath left a fresh widow, who by means of good friends hath gotten the wardship of her son, and so hath the whole estate in her hands. There is great suing for Sir Allen Percy's lady. Sir Walter Cope hath been twice already employed to the Lady Hatton, at Stoke, in the behalf of Sir Thomas Howard; but the common opinion is, that she is reserved for the young Lord St. John, or one of his brethren. Sir Allen took his disease with lying on the ground in his heat as he was hunting, and so fell out of a standing where he was placed. He was reasonably well recovered in show, but went away in his sleep, when it was least looked for. Sir William Ryder was buried yesterday, who died a richer man than ever he was esteemed; for Sir Thomas Lake's part is better than £20,000. The speech hath been current these three or four days, that Ingram,¹ the undertaker, is broken for great sums, and that he hath a protection for himself and his sureties.

The king is hunting at Newmarket, and the queen at Greenwich, practising for a new masque. The ambassador of Savoy followed the king to Theobalds, or, as some say, to Royston. For aught I can learn, he had but a cold answer; and yet the duke, his master, was so confident, that he offered to come in person to conduct her. It is thought the breaking off of the match in Spain hath marred this, otherwise they might have gone on hand in hand. The ambassador brought a present of a tame ounce, or leopard, which had almost committed an unpardonable fault at Theobalds, having seized upon a white red-deer calf, nursed up there by a woman entertained for the purpose, and much ado there was to save the poor suckling. Our *speculativi* make many difficulties, as if this young lady was a likely match for the King of Spain; others, that the same business is now treating for the *reine blanche* in France; but I think they are both ways wide, the one as far as the other.

¹ Arthur, afterwards knighted.

I was the other day with the Bishop of Ely,¹ and among other talk lighted upon Casaubon, who it seems is scant contented with his entertainment of £300 a-year: being promised greater matters by the late archbishop, who bestowed a prebend upon him at Canterbury, which he valued at six score pounds a-year, and falls out not worth the fourth part. But his greatest emulations or envy is at Turquet's preferment,² who hath £400 pension of the king, £400 of the queen, with a house provided him, and many other commodities, which he reckons at £1400 a-year.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 27, 1611.

Three or four days since, finding Mr. Harriot³ at great leisure in Paul's, I accosted him, to see what I could learn of his great lord.⁴ He told me that he had some enlargement, and that any of his servants or friends might have access to him. That this last tempest was already blown over. That Elke's⁵ and his accusations began to vanish, only there was some doubt that his fine of £30,000 would be called upon. And for the matter whereon you were mentioned, it fell out thus—that the lord being urged about a letter that should be written for Percy's lodging, firmly denied it; but his man Radcliffe, debating the matter with him, wished him not to stand too stiffly upon it, because he remembered that Percy went up and down the house inquiring after you, and told him it was for such a purpose; whereupon the lord at his next examination, though this point were no more in question of his own motion, told them that he could not call to mind any such letter; but if there were, it was without any ill intent, and it was likely you had written it. This was

¹ Dr. Andrews.

² Mayerne, the physician.

³ Thomas Harriot, the celebrated mathematician, and author of *Artis Analyticæ Praxis*, printed at London, 1631, folio.

⁴ Henry, Earl of Northumberland, still a prisoner in the Tower, who allowed Mr. Harriot an annual pension of £120.

⁵ See "Historical View of the Negotiation between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels." London, 1749.

taken hold of, and *pro concessio*; whereas he spoke it doubtfully, and by way of caution. But Epsley utterly denied all this, and said, his lord had forgotten and wronged himself, for that there was no letter written, but himself was employed by Percy to whineard in his lord's name by word of mouth. Epsley was long in the Gatehouse, and being delivered about a fortnight since, went that morning to visit Sir Allen Percy, and was the first that discovered him to be dead in his bed.

I forgot, in my last, that Brooke the lawyer was lately dead, by straining over violently at the Chancery Bar, whereby a rupture he had, burst out, and in three or four days made an end of him. Monsieur Vitri died much about the same time, at Royston, of a burning ague, that made likewise a quick disposal of him; his body is brought to town, and shall shortly be sent into France. The king is willing to bestow some honourable funeral on him, but the French ambassador will not permit his body to be brought into any of our churches.

Sir William Bowes is lately dead, and we hear that Harry Constable hath taken the same way in France, and Monsieur Fontaine, the French preacher there.

The young Lady Hume Dunbar's¹ daughter is sick of the smallpox at Durham House, which is now become the lord chamberlain's dwelling, and I hear he hath it in gift.

The Savoy ambassador lingers here still, in hopes of a better answer, being much fallen from his high hopes. He would fain have followed the king this hunting journey, and made himself a professed hunter, but it would in no wise be permitted. The Spanish ambassador went to the king the last week at Newmarket, without acquainting any of the council, which is thought somewhat a strange course.

The prince hath recovered Barkhampstead from Sir Edward Cory, upon the same title that he had Sir Warwick Heale's land, as belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall. And your cousin Pauleth hath lost 400 marks a-year of demesne about his house, wherein his grandfather had a long term, and getting the fee simple in recompense of his service,

¹ Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer of Scotland.

drowned his lease, and thereby hath lost both lease and house.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 4, 1611.

The Dorcas arrived within the river the latter end of the last week, and somewhat ado there hath been both with the Customs and those of the Glasshouse, to let all pass; and some little difficulty there was about partition, by reason that the writing and superscription were worn off. My Lady Hatton laid claim to all the drinking glasses; but I remember there was a chest for the Lady Cope, and a looking-glass, the greatest save one. She looked out your letter, and sent a note of the particulars, and I think all was divided yesterday according to your intent. I complained to her of the slow payment of your money, which she seemed to marvel at, and said, "No doubt Sir Walter knew not of it," for he would take order it should be no more so, seeing it seemed so much to your prejudice and loss, as I made it appear unto her. But I am persuaded that neither he nor she can further the matter, nor advance the payment one whit. I have heard that my lord treasurer was not pleased with your bill of charges of transportation, and stormed a little at it; and I was desirous to learn what I could of her. But I perceive she knows nothing, only she told me she heard your journey stood you in a just hundred pounds. Whereby you may see what good intelligence she hath, and how capable she is of it. I assured her it was not the fifth part of your charge.

Two notable causes possessed the Star Chamber almost all this long term. The first was followed by Sir John Levison against one Shepherd and his confederates, for the counterfeiting a deed of Sir Walter Levison's lands, which was the cause so much bolstered up by the last lord treasurer. Shepherd was condemned to stand in the pillory and lose his ears, be marked in the face, his nose slit, and I know not what else.

Sir Anthony Ashley had likewise the honour of the day—

one Hannings and another being adjudged to the like punishment, which was executed the next day. But one Hampton, an old, cunning companion, being in the same condemnation, absents himself, and cannot be heard of. Sir James Creighton was adjudged to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and to pay a thousand pounds. There was some mention likewise to have him banished, but my Lord of Exeter thought it needless, because, unless he had a face of brass, he made no question he would banish himself.

There was an appeal brought this term in the King's Bench, by young Egerton, against one Robinson, that was second to his brother, when he was slain by Morgan, upon weak and malicious surmises. Morgan was brought to arraignment before, and avoided the indictment by skill in law; and, though this man might easily have found some such trick, his principal not being tried, yet he took such indignation that his own kinsman should use him thus, that openly, at the bar, he protested, that as long as he could die with his sword in his hand, he would never put his life upon a lawyer's mercenary tongue, and then challenge the combat of him, which could not be denied him in law, and so was granted in Easter Term.

The Earl of Southampton's journey into Spain is laid aside, and the ceremony of condoling¹ shall be left to the ambassador resident there, as likewise the masque that was preparing here is put off, as unseasonable so soon after the death of a neighbour queen.

The Spanish ambassador was sent for lately before the council, where it was roundly told him what criminal wrongs and injustice our nation was still offered in Spain, with this conclusion, that if there was not present redress, the king was fully minded to recall his ambassador, for that he should no longer lose his time and his master's reputation, in following causes with so little success. The cause of his journey to Newmarket to the king is not thoroughly discovered, only it was to commit somewhat to the king's own secrecy. Yet there is some little light given, that we should not be too forward in the match with Savoy,

¹ On the death of the Queen of Spain.

for somewhat might be propounded hereafter touching that lady, which were not yet fit to be treated of.

Sir Henry Wotton's friends give out that he hath refused the employment to Brussels. And now Sir Dudley Digges¹ is in consideration of this new discovery of this North-West passage, wherein he is a great undertaker, will give him leave to think of any thing else, for it possesseth him wholly, and they are preparing ships against the spring, as if there were no doubt or difficulty at all in the weather, and the prince is become patron and protector of this new discovery.

The lord treasurer hath a rheum or ache fallen into his right arm and hand, which put him to extreme pain and hindered his rest, so that on Monday he was let blood by advice of divers physicians, but what ease he hath found I hear not as yet.

I cannot tell whether you have heard that Sir Robert Drury and his lady have leave to travel for three years and are already settled at Amiens, and with them John Donne.² ★

Sir William Herbert was taken upon an execution of £5000 the last week, and clapt up in the Compter, in Wood Street.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 18, 1611.

The proclamation for raising of gold came forth, so that all our English and Scottish pieces are enhanced, after the rate of two shillings in the pound.

The privy seals begin now to come abroad thick and threefold. On Sunday was sevensnight, most of the strangers were greeted with them in form of letters as as they came out of church, a course in my opinion not so well taken, to be done in view and sight of all the world, which might have been better performed in delivering them to every man privately at home.

¹ Made Master of the Rolls 20th April, 1636, on the death of Sir Julius Cæsar. He died 18th March, 1638-9.

² Hereward, Dean of St. Paul's.

Dr. Dun¹ grows old, and hath resigned his place of Requests, or at leastwise his waiting, to Sir Christopher Parkins. Judge Walmesley² hath likewise given over the world and comes no more to London, being put to his pension, and Sir Humphrey Winch, that was chief justice in Ireland, succeeds him in the Common Pleas.

Some few days ago, two gentlemen shooting the bridge were drowned, at least one of them, brother to Sir George Gifford, and the two watermen. The other, Fitz-Hughes, was taken up at the Tower, and with much ado saved.

Rich Sutton is dead at last the 12th of this month. I cannot yet learn many particulars of his will, but thus much hath been told me from the mouth of Auditor Sutton, one of the executors, that he hath given twenty thousand pounds ready money to charitable uses, to be disposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and the Bishop of Lincoln. He hath left eight thousand pounds, lands, a-year, to his college or hospital at the Charter House (which is not bestowed on the prince as was given out), to the maintenance of eight score soldiers, sober men, who are to have pensions according to their degrees as they have borne places, as captains, lieutenants, or ancients, and the like. There is a school likewise for eight score scholars with a hundred pounds stipend for the schoolmaster and other provisions for ushers, with a hundred marks a-year wages for a gardener to keep the orchard and garden in good order. Many other legacies I hear of, which you shall have together, if I can get them. I cannot learn of much that he hath given to his poor kindred, not above the value of four hundred pounds a-year.

Newport, the admiral of Virginia, is newly come home, and brings word of the arrival there of Sir Thomas Gates and his company, but his lady died by the way in some part of the West Indies. He hath sent his daughters back again, which I doubt not is a piece of prognostication that himself means not to tarry long.

¹ Daniel Dun, Doctor of Laws.

² Thomas Walmesley; made one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, May 10, 1589.

The lord treasurer is well recovered. All business betwixt the king and him in his absence pass by the Earl of Pembroke, who is *communis terminus* between them.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Dudley Carleton, Esq.

London, January 14, 1612.

I doubt all is not well with Mr. Wake, that we hear not of him. He made account to be away but eight or ten days at most, and it is now fifteen since he went. It may be the foul weather hindered his progress, and prolongs his return; for otherwise, he is sedulous enough in anything he undertakes, and fit to follow business, if he were not of too much note, or, as you know who termed him *tropo conspicuo*, which may be some cause of those far-fetched discourses about your affairs, though they were broached before he came; marry, as I understand, they are since grown more ordinary.

I imparted to Signor Biondi what you wrote, touching the Venetian ambassador, and how kindly you took his relation. He accepted the charge very willingly, or any other service you should impose on him, with much demonstration of duty and thankfulness for all your former favours. But he told me that Signor Tuscarini was somewhat distasted, that your secretary had not been with him, and that for his part he had wished him, at his first coming, not to neglect him. Sir Walter Cope, likewise, at my last being with him, spake to the same purpose; so that at his return I will put him in mind of it, if it be not now too late.

Biondi told me that he had gotten a grant of his pension for £100 a-year by his own industry; for, going to an audience with the Venetian ambassador, he solicited his own cause himself, and procured a patent from the king's own mouth; for that he saw the Cavaliere Wotton had so much business of his own, that he could not attend to it. Your Italian friar was with me this other day, with a long discontented discourse for want of money; that he was sometimes fain to make his own bed, and sweep his chamber,

things he was never put to in the place whence he came. I advised him the best I could, to patience, and told him that, seeing he was well provided for food and raiment, he must fashion himself to endure somewhat *per amor di Christi*. It seems his companion Giovanni is no better pleased in the north, for he wrote lately to him, that his patron, the Archbishop,¹ was *strettissimo di denari*, and that they lived in no city nor town, but *in villa*; and thereupon, subscribed his name, *Johannes in Deserto*.

The foul weather kept the king here till Monday, when the air began to alter, and hath continued ever since very fair. He is gone to Royston and Newmarket, and makes account not to return till Candlemas or after. He took up a quarrel, before he went, betwixt Edward Sackville, son to the last Earl of Dorset and the Lord Bruce, of Kinloss. It was to be determined beyond sea, and Sackville was gotten over; but Bruce was stayed at the seaside.

Garter king-at-arms is gone to Holland, and is in commission with Sir Ralph Winwood to deliver the order to Count Maurice, and perform the ceremonies; which when they are finished, if we hear not of Sir Ralph against the wedding, I will give over looking for him.

Sir Richard Morrison hath concluded, as I hear, with the Lord Danvers for his place, in Ireland, of president of Munster, and gives him £3000. Here is a proclamation coming out this day against pocket-dags, which begin to grow in use, and may many ways prove dangerous. There is speech likewise upon great suspicions of disarming the papists.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 28, 1612.

According to your direction, in your last of the old year, I have caused Signor Biondi's packet to be delivered, and went myself with the other letters to the master of the wards,² who, upon reading of them, told me he was very willing to be rid of those papers you write of,³

¹ Of York, Dr. Matthew.

² Sir Walter Cope.

³ Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury. See Mr. Chamberlain's letter of the 27th of May, 1612.

and that he had divers times bethought himself how he might safely convey them to you. I told him the readier and safer way were to burn them, which course he allowed of, and said I should see him make a sacrifice of them; and so he went to seek them, but returning after a reasonable time, told me he could not find the key of his cabinet where he had laid them up. Marry, he bid me tell you that they were in safe custody, and that he would be as careful of them as of anything that concerned himself. I answered that I would attend him some other time, when he might more readily light upon them. Then he carried me up to see his daughter,¹ that came to town but the night before, and lays out her great belly as handsomely as the rest. He made me a long relation of the great cause now before him, 'twixt the Lady Lake and her sister, the Lady Cæsar, wherein he shall have much ado to carry himself between wind and water, that he displease not Sir Thomas or Mr. Chancellor.

We hear the king is still at Newmarket, somewhat troubled with a humour in his great toe, that must not be christened or called the gout. Presently, upon his going hence, the council took their several ways, and gave themselves some liberty of recreation for a week, but are now as close at it again as ever, and indeed complain that matters find not that ready disposal that were to be wished, for want of assistance in some secret business. So that no doubt they will importune the king, at his return, to resolve upon somebody. For though his majesty at first took delight to show his readiness and ability in those causes, yet that vigour begins to relent, and he must daily more and more attend to his own health and quiet. And now in the nick to cross and hinder that good we expected, there is a great breach fallen out 'twixt Sir Henry Neville and the Viscount Fenton about the executorship of Sir John Norris, wherein the viscount, as it were, proclaims hostility, and is gone with open mouth to complain of him to the king. Though if that be true that is constantly

¹ Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland.

reported, his lady hath done all the wrong, as well in beating, kicking, and reviling her mother-in-law, whom she will vouchsafe no other name but the Lady Margery, and mews her up in a chamber, like a hawk, in her own house, with other indignities. Whereas, for aught I can hear, Sir Henry Neville hath only taken the way of law and justice, and is to reap no greater benefit than only to discharge the trust reposed in him. But, as I said, it falls out unhappily, both in regard of the person, such a favourite and a counsellor, and of the time.

The world hath still a good opinion of our friend at the Hague, and great [competition] thereto for his place (as I hear) both by Sir Dudley Digges and Mr. Staunton, but specially by Colonel Ogle, who offers thereupon to resign his regiment to Sir Arthur Wilmot, a special follower and favourite of my Lord of Rochester. Sir Thomas Glover is arrived, and shows his face, offering to justify and clear himself of whatsoever can be laid to his charge.

Here is a proclamation come forth against pocket dags, and order is gone into most shires to disarm the papists. What secret cause there may be I know not, but the world here grows suspicious, and apprehends great danger from them: many rumours are raised, as namely, the last week, that the Earl of Huntingdon was slain by them in his own house. Whereupon, at Coventry and Warwick, they shut their gates and mustered their soldiers, and at Banbury and those parts the people made barricadoes and all other manner of provisions, as if they looked presently to be assaulted.

The Lady of Shrewsbury,¹ that hath been long in the Tower, and had the liberty of the place, and sometimes leave to attend her lord in his sickness, is now of late constrained and kept more close upon somewhat discovered against her, they say, by her niece, the Lady Arabella. Judge Williams² died on Friday last at his house in the country, leaving a great estate behind him both in land and wealth; and the same day, Sir Antony St. Leger,

¹ Mary, wife of Gilbert, seventh earl.

² David Williams, made one of the justices of the King's Bench, February 4, 1603.

that was Master of the Rolls in Ireland, died here in town.

Sir Thomas Bodley¹ is even now at the last cast, and hath lain speechless and without knowledge since yesterday at noon. God comfort him and send him a good passage.

Our merchants have daily many losses, and now lately there was a ship of three hundred ton cast away in the river of Hamburgh, laden with goods to the value of £80,000, and now the last week a ship bound for the Straits sunk between this and Gravesend. The prince² goes to be installed at Windsor the 7th of the next month, and great preparations here are of bravery, masques, and fireworks, against the marriage. The opinion is now that they shall go away both together before the end of April. This night he feasts all the council at Essex House.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 12, 1611-12.

I thank you for the copy of the bishop's³ letter, which I received in your former, and have not imparted it to any body. At my last being with him, he asked me news of Dr. Marea, of whom I could say nothing, but have learned since, that being a canonist, and having written in favour of the Pope's usurping pretensions, he is now come to Padua, and hath turned his style the other way.

The king is expected here on Friday. His book is finished the last week, but not published till this day, and

¹ This distinguished benefactor to letters was born at Exeter in the year 1544, and educated partly at Geneva and partly at Magdalen College, Oxford. He became a fellow of Merton; read lectures on the philosophy and literature of Greece; was appointed one of the proctors of the University in 1569, and subsequently public orator. He then travelled much abroad, and his reputation for learning and intelligence recommended him to Queen Elizabeth, who first gave him a place near her at court, and then sent him on several embassies to the principal continental States. Her successor bestowed on him the honour of knighthood, and doubtless would have preferred him in the service of the State, but Sir Thomas retired entirely from public life, and dedicated himself to the collection of that noble collection of books and manuscripts with which he afterwards enriched the University, and which still, under the name of the Bodleian, declares the wisdom and munificence of the founder. Among his papers he left a kind of autobiography, which Hearne the antiquary published in 1703, in a volume entitled "*Reliquia Bodleiana*."

² Henry.

³ Of Ely, Dr. Andrews.

that only in French,¹ the English and Latin copies being yet in the press. A hundred of them were sent away with all speed on Saturday to Sir Ralph Winwood, by whose means I could wish you had one. Otherwise, I would have adventured it, though it be the biggest for a packet. His majesty doth Sir Ralph right and favour, as well in setting down his propositions and letters, as in giving allowance to his course and proceeding.

One Sheldon,² a priest, hath lately set out a book of *Motives*³ that made him relinquish the Romish church. And one Wannington,⁴ that was chaplain to Cardinal Allen, hath written a treatise in defence of the oath of allegiance, and in verification of Sixtus Quintus's oration upon the death of Henry III., so stoutly denied by Belarmin.

We heard yesterday of nine ships, with 1500 Spaniards, come into the Downs, and going into the Low Countries to reinforce their garrisons. The Spanish ambassador's sister and daughter-in-law, whom you met upon Barham Downs, went away the last week towards Brussels, without taking leave, or bidding the queen farewell.

About the midst of March, the queen meaneth to go towards the Bath, and the lord treasurer and lord chamberlain are said to have the same purpose, which will be a great hindrance to the ordinary customers of that place.

The last week, four good ships went hence for the East Indies, but missed some of their mariners, who, seizing on a Low Country vessel that lay in the river, have carried her away no man knows whither.

There is a lottery in hand, for furthering the Virginia voyage, and an under-company erecting for the trade of the Bermudas, which have changed their name twice within this month, being first christened Virginiola, as a member of that plantation, but now lately resolved to be called Summer Islands, as well in respect of the continued

¹ Entitled, "Declaration sur les Attions, devoirs les Etats Generaux des Pays Bas, unis touchant le fait de Conrad Vorstius." London, 1612, in 4to.

² Richard Sheldon.

³ "The Motives of Richard Sheldon, priest, for his renouncing communion with the Church of Rome." London, 1612, in 4to.

⁴ William. See Wood, Ath. Oxon., vol. i., col. 386.

temperate air, as in remembrance of Sir George Summers, that died there.

The Lady of Shrewsbury is still in the Tower, rather upon wilfulness than upon any great matter she is charged withal, only the king is resolute that she shall answer to certain interrogatories, and she as obstinate to make none, nor to be examined.¹

The other week, a young *mignon* of Sir P. Brooker's did penance at Paul's Cross, whom he had entertained and abused since she was twelve years old. And this last Sunday, Moll Cutpurse, a notorious baggage, that used to go in man's apparel, and challenged the field of divers gallants, was brought to the same place, where she wept bitterly, and seemed very penitent; but it is since doubted she was maudlin drunk, being discovered to have tippled three quarts of sack before she came to her penance. She had the daintiest preacher, or ghostly father, that ever I saw in the pulpit, one Radcliffe, of Brazennose in Oxford, a likelier man to have led the revels in some inn of court than to be where he was. But the best is, he did extreme badly, and so wearied the audience, that the best part went away, and the rest tarried rather to hear Moll Cutpurse than him.

Sir Thomas Bodley hath gotten a grant of the Stationers, to have one copy of every book that shall be printed, for his library, and hath prevailed with Sir John Bennet to undertake the building of the schools at Oxford, by collections from friends, and with the help of commutations and legacies to pious uses belonging to his office.²

I know not whether you have heard, that Dr. Maxie is Dean of Windsor, or that Charles Paget³ is dead, and left a good estate to certain nephews by his sister, or that a son of the Bishop of Bristol,⁴ his eldest, of nineteen or twenty years old, killed himself with a knife, to avoid the disgrace of breeching which his mother, or mother-in-law,

¹ About the marriage of Lady Arabella with William Seymour: the countess would not tell anything.

² Of Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

³ Brother of Thomas Lord Paget, with whom he had been attainted for treason, by the parliament of the 29th of Queen Elizabeth.

⁴ Dr. John Thornborough.

(I know not whether) would need have put him to, for losing his money at tennis.

I was here making an end, but you shall have word or two more out of Mr. Gent's letter from Oxford, of the death of Mr. Friar, who lay long sick of the flux and strangury which he fell into by grief and fretting, with our Bishop of Oxford,¹ for the suit of Water Eaton, his house new built there, and land, which is worth at least £400 a-year, that is like all to be lost, or else to be new purchased, in a manner. This went so near him, that it drove him into these diseases, into great extremity, and he died upon Saturday last, most pitifully in divers respects, both for great pains and no quietness of mind. He renounced all religions, Papistry, Protestancy, Puritanism, and all other, and took himself only to God, and so, spitting out his lungs, went away in fury, and blaspheming the priest, by which name he called our bishop; and this is Mr. Gent's narration in his own words. He writes another thing, somewhat strange, that Dr. Ryves,² warden of New College, will give over his house, and betake himself to his parsonages in the country.

This enclosed paper is of Hoskyns' ³ doing. Though I have no great trust in it myself, yet, perhaps, you may find more, for the wits of the age esteem it very much.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 25, 1612.

In my last, I wrote you of my lord treasurer's amendment, which goes on still, though fair and softly, by reason of the weakness of his body and the uncertainty of his disease, not fully discovered till very lately, and yet he wants not a whole college of physicians that consult upon him every day, among whom Forquet⁴ takes upon him, and is very confident, though he have failed as often in judgment as any of the rest. His letting blood is generally disallowed,

¹ Dr. Giles Tomson, who died June 13, 1612.

² George Ryves, D.D., Prebendary of Winchester. He died May 31, 1613.

³ John Hoskyns, a man of considerable genius, afterwards sergeant-at-law, and one of the itinerant judges of Wales. He died August 27, 1638, aged 72.

⁴ Mayerne.

as well by reason as by experience in his case, and in Sir William Cornwallis's, whom, by that means, he despatched very presently. Within this fortnight, my lord's disease hath varied, at leastwise in name or opinion, twice or thrice. For first, it was held the scorbut, then the dropsy, and now it hath got another Greek name,¹ that I have forgotten, but it imports as much as *malus habitus*, wherein he hath found most good from the physicians and surgeons of the hospital, and specially of Teuton. The opinion now generally current is, that he is in a good way of recovery, though the reports be divers every day, according to every man's hope or fear.

There was great expectation on Sunday, of the making of two or three new councillors, but it succeeded not. Only there was great consultation about Irish affairs, and of calling a parliament there shortly.

I hear of great canvassing for places, if they fall, wherein Sir Thomas Edmondes is not forgotten by his female friends. The Lord Clifford is come out of France, very much bettered, they say, by this short travel.

Sir Henry Wotton went away this day sevensnight, with the rich sword, which, by good chance, he kept better than his own, that was stolen out of his chamber the night before he went, with full assurance, as it should seem, that it was the right.

Sir Edward Cecil is gone over in the Low Countries, to supply the prince's place of godfather to a child of the Count Ernestus of Nassau of Arnheim, and carried with him a great present of plate, because the lady is daughter to the queen's sister. The Lord Willoughby sells land to set forth himself on his journey to Denmark, whither he is to carry four thousand men, if he can raise them.

The king was much displeased with the accident that fell out at Croydon, and had the whole matter and manner examined before himself. Whereupon Ramsey was committed to the Tower, where he is more visited than all the rest, great or small.

Yesterday, being the king's day,² passed with ordinary

¹ It was the herodian—a loathsome disease of a scrofulous character.

² The day of his accession to the throne of England.

running and ringing. The Lord North¹ had a mischance the day before, in practising with the Earl of Montgomery, who, breaking a staff upon him, some of the splinters ran into his arm, and have torn out the flesh and sinews very dangerously.

Two notable thieves broke lately out of Newgate, after they were condemned; and, the very next night after their escape, robbed the Lady Stone of £400 in plate, by the uttering whereof, being discovered and taken again, they were hanged the last week on several gibbets, Courtney within the gate, and the other without.

On Wednesday, Legat the Arian was burnt in Smithfield, very early; he said little, but died obstinately. There was another fanatical felon condemned for blasphemous heresies, and sent down to Litchfield, where he was to be burnt as on Friday last, if he have not recanted.

Our pirates are busy still, and have lately taken a rich ship, of London, upon the coast of Spain, after they had slain the master and some others in fight.

The Lady Dacres, wife to Mr. Lennard, is lately dead, leaving that dignity to her son, Sir Henry Lennard. Dr. Holland,² deceased, last week in Oxford; but we hear not who is likely to succeed him in his lecture. It may be you have not heard that Mr. Bourges³ hath left his function of preaching, and betaking himself to physic, commenced doctor at Leyden,⁴ and is become a great practitioner about this town.

Young Roper, that come to Venice with Sir Oliver Manners, hath lately married a niece's daughter of Charles Paget, who, at his death, conveyed all his lands and goods to them; but this gift is impugned by my Lord Paget, who, both in deed and in expectation, was his heir.

I had almost forgotten that, delivering your kind remembrance, with Signor Candido's letter, to my Lord of

¹ Dudley, third baron. He died July 16, 1666.

² Thomas Holland, D.D., professor of divinity at Oxford, and rector of Exeter College.

³ John Bourges, parson of Sutton Coldfield, in Warwickshire. He died August 31, 1635, aged about seventy-two.

⁴ He was incorporated in that degree at Oxford, July 10, 1627.

Ely, he enjoined me to return you the like kindness from him, and this other day told me that the king knew of Marsilias's death long before he imparted it to him, as it might well be, for his loss was not in town a fortnight after your letter came, and his majesty is very desirous that his panegyric apology for him should not be lost. I made answer that no doubt there was order given to you to inquire after it, that I would not fail to touch and give you notice of it by my next.

The Countess of Northumberland had access yesterday to the king about her lord's fine, which is now of late earnestly urged, and direction given how and where to levy it, seeing he will take no order himself for his best advantage. She had gracious audience, and is in great hope of abating the best part of it.

The match is concluded 'twixt Sir Henry Rich¹ and Betty Cope,² and toward Whitsuntide, I think they will come to consummation.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, April 29, 1612.

You must be content to be troubled sometimes with commissions from your friends, which, with variety, will make the quietness you enjoy so much the more pleasing. This, that I now recommend to you, is a work of charity, to be assistant to two honest strangers, who were never yet nearer in England than this place, nor never spoke with an Englishman but with myself and some of my house; and yet as they are carried thither by their affection, so are they well settled in our religion. For this cause, I have recommended them to my lord archbishop's grace, by whom I have good assurance they will be well received; and, because it is a difficulty for strangers to find access, I will desire this of you, if you are known to my lord, to bestow the conducting of them yourself; if otherwise, to address them to some one of his chamberlains, whom you hear to be of most trust about his lordship. For, as their

¹ Afterwards Earl of Holland.

² Isabella, daughter of Sir Walter Cope, of Kensington.

mission hath been with all secrecy, so I desire their reception may be; and, as their discovery of light, even in the midst of darkness, hath been very miraculous, so those good parts of learning that are in them, I promise myself will add much to the bright shining thereof through all the world. Of their outward appearance and manner, you must expect no more than of those who have always been in cloisters; but their ingenuity (I assure myself), will give you the same satisfaction it hath done to me. Their course of life you shall more particularly understand by themselves; and I pray you, as for their first access, so likewise for their other occasions, let them be aided hereafter by your friendly advice. And, as I shall be glad to hear from you what satisfaction they both give and receive, so, when they write, I will pray you to give their letters conveyance.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

Since I wrote the last week, I have received yours of 24th April; but have not yet had opportunity to acquaint my Lord of Ely with what you write concerning him and Signor Candido's panegyric apology. The Duke of Bouillon, who went away yesterday, presented plate to the value of £4000. But, whether the business touching the Lady Elizabeth's grace be thoroughly effected, I cannot assure you, because it is diversly related.

Here have happened two or three accidents of late, very unlikely, that made some broiling 'twixt the Scots and our nation. Maxwell,¹ a sewer or gentleman-usher, upon very small occasion, plucked or pinched one Hawley, a gentleman of the Temple, by the ear, at the feasting of the Duke of Bouillon, that the blood followed fastly; who, calling him to account for it the next day by a challenge, the matter came to the king's notice, who, understanding that all the inns of court took alarm at the abuses, and began to bustle, caused Hawley to be sent for. But he keeping out of the way, the king sent for the benchers of the Temple, and told them that, if the gentleman would

¹ See Francis Osborne's "Traditional Memorials of King James." p. 27. Mr. Osborne saith that Mr. Hawley was an intimate acquaintance of his.

come forth, and refer his cause to him, he would hear the matter himself, and do him all right and justice, and that he would not maintain any servant, to do wrong; and this he willed them to tell the rest of their company. Which was done at Lincoln's Inn, by Mr. Attorney, and at Gray's Inn by Sir Francis Bacon. But the gentleman absents himself still, and the Scottishmen pluck in their horns, and are fain to absent themselves from plays and from the hither parts of the town, and keep close about Charing Cross; for that they find unruly youths apt to quarrel, and ready to offer ill measure. And, to mend the matter, on Monday, Turner, the fencer, was suddenly slain with a pistol, as he was drinking with certain Scots belonging to the Lord Sanquhar, upon the old grudge of putting out his eye in playing with him at Ricot. The fellow that did the deed got away, and is not yet heard of; and the Lord Sanquhar played least in sight for three or four days; but understanding that there was a proclamation coming forth for his apprehension, on Thursday he rendered himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and stood much upon his innocency. But the proclamation was published this afternoon, wherein the king both showed his detestation of the fact, and promiseth £500 to whomsoever shall bring the Lord Sanquhar alive, and £300 dead; and £100 to him that should bring Carlisle, the murderer, alive, or £50 dead.

Upon Sunday, one Gray, a Scottishman, was brought from Harwich, where he was shipping for Denmark, who confesseth he was hired long since by the Lord Sanquhar to do this murther; but not having the heart to do it, was now shifting away. Upon which confession and confronting of the party, together with other manifest proofs and circumstances, the Lord Sanquhar was yesterday brought to confess the whole matter before the council, and so was delivered over to the judges, to undergo the course of law, and was by them sent to the King's Bench.

The king hath been much troubled and perplexed by these matters, and gave order that Turner's body should be privately buried, to avoid concourse of people, that might breed inconvenience. It is verily thought that San-

quhar shall die, being a man nothing gracious among his own nation, and may be best spared. He was divorced from his lady but the Saturday before; and yet, upon his sending, she came to him yesterday, and would have accompanied him to the King's Bench, taking his cause, to seeming, very heartily.

On Thursday last, the Lord Vaux was condemned at the King's Bench in a præmunire, for refusing the oath of allegiance: whereby he loseth all his goods and fee-simple lands for ever, and entailed lands for life, as likewise his liberty, being sent from the place prisoner to the King's Bench, though he made entreaty that it might be changed to the Fleet.

Sir Thomas Foster,¹ the judge, died here in town on Monday.

We hear daily from the lord treasurer (Salisbury), but with such variety and uncertainty, that I know not what to believe * * *; and on Sunday the news was very doubtful, and almost desperate, so that my Lord Cranborne was sent for to Audley End, and came all night and the next day by horses; and he and Sir Edward Cecil arrived at the Bath, and found my lord somewhat revived, insomuch that yesterday he would needs remove from the Bath to a house six miles off, belonging to Sir Francis Manners in right of his wife, and they say will homewards as fast as his strength will give him leave.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 27, 1612.

I am sorry I have no better subject to write of at this time, than the loss of such a friend as I know the late lord treasurer was to you, though his long languishing sickness gave cause enough, to any that depended on him, to prepare and provide for the worst. For my part, I gave him over since the beginning of Lent, and think his physicians dealt not well with nor for their own reputation, to put him in hope of any long continuance, for it was easy to be discerned that his liver (besides other in-

¹ One of the justices of the Common Pleas.

firmities) was irrecoverable; and yet he had many alarms, before and after his going to the Bath, that he was in a fair way of amendment. Some days before he died, the king sent the Lord Hay¹ to him, with a diamond of £400 for a token; the prince likewise sent Sir John Holles,² who hath returned with good hope, though in the opinion of most about him he was *deploratus* long before. He found so little good at the Bath, that he made all the haste he could out of that suffocating, sulphurous air, as he called it, though others think he hastened the faster homeward to countermine his underminers, and, as he termed it, to cast dust in their eyes. As the case stands, it was best that he gave over the world, for they say his friends fell from him apace, and some near about him; and howsoever he had fared with his health, it is verily thought he would never have been himself again in power and credit. I never knew so great a man so soon and so generally censured, for men's tongues walk very liberally and freely, but how truly I cannot judge. He died on Sunday last, the 24th of this present, at Marlborough, in the parsonage-house, between one and two in the afternoon, as he was coming hitherward, and had his memory perfect to the last gasp, and prepared himself for it; but yet he looked not to have gone so suddenly, nor at the instant that he did.

The news of his death was all over this town the next morning, and the king, that was ready to go to Eltham, deferred it only till after dinner, and there tarries till the end of this week. The corpse is carried the next way to Hatfield, where it shall be buried without any great pomp, by his special appointment, for he hath allotted out but £200 for his funeral, and as much to the poor. His will was opened but this morning, and, as I hear, he hath made Percival, Deckham, Kirkham, and Hawton, his executors, to the use of his son, who came to him on Monday, at night. His debts are said to be towards £50,000, for which there will be good order taken, and leave the young lord about £6000 land. The Lord Wotton bought lately

¹ Afterwards ninth Earl of Errol.

² Afterwards Earl of Clare.

Canterbury Park of him for £12,000, and in three years there is £21,000 to arise out of the silk-farm. The rest will be made up otherwise.

His places and offices are not yet disposed of, saving the bailiwick of Westminster, valued at £500 a-year, to the Viscount Rochester, and the stewardship of Greenwich to the lord privy seal.¹ It is said the treasuryship and mastership of the wards shall be executed by commission for a time; and Sir Henry Neville and Sir Thomas Lake are by common voice designed for secretaries. The latter is already in possession of the signet, and order is given to Kirkham and the rest to bring him all packets as they come sealed, which they did use in my lord's absence and sickness to open. It is generally thought that the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Sheffield² shall be shortly sworn of the council. Upon the Earl of Pembroke's preferment to that place, the Earl of Southampton retired himself into the country, but his spirit hath walked very busily about the court ever since. The Earl of Northampton is like to carry the treasuryship in the end, though he be but yet named in the commission with the Lord Zouch, Sir Julius Cæsar, and a fourth, that I now remember not.

I was yesterday with Sir Walter Cope, who came to town with the young earl. He told me that he was enjoined by the late lord, together with the lord chamberlain, to overlook his papers, which since his coming had done, and finding certain letters of yours, which he showed me, willed me to tell you that you should take no care of them, for that they were in safe keeping, and read me some part of them, of latest date. He wished me likewise to persuade you to cast away a letter (as he called it) now and then on the Lord of Northampton; as likewise to insinuate with the Lord of Rochester, and send him some pretty advertisements; and for the first time you must do it by his means, and so he would make your way, or rather peradventure his own. But, if I might advise, I would you could rather devise how to grow in

¹ The Earl of Northampton.

² Edmond, Baron Sheffield, who had been engaged in the contest against the Armada in '88, and was created Earl of Mulgrave in 1626.

with the prince, and not without need, if all be true I have heard, which I take to proceed from your old friend Fabritio,¹ who is thought to be much in his favour.

Yesterday the matter betwixt Maxwell, the Scot, and Hawley, of the Temple, should have been compounded at the Earl of Worcester's house, before the lord chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke, with other noblemen and counsellors. Hawley came, accompanied with more than forty gentlemen of his house, being promised the other should make him satisfaction on his knees. But when that came to the jump, Maxwell offered any satisfaction in words, but no kneeling. Whereupon they broke off abruptly, and so the matter rests yet.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 11, 1612.

Being newly lighted from horseback, I would not lose this little time to write, though I have nothing but country news, or such as I brought out of the country.² For in hunting after more, I should let this post, and so be cast behindhand a week more than I meant to have been at my going out of town.

On Tuesday last Judge Foster was buried within three miles of Ware Park, and the same day the late lord treasurer's funeral was solemnized at Hatfield, not full five miles from us, and yet none of our company was at it but my man, whom I sent to see if Sir Rowland Lytton or Sir Richard Spencer were there, but neither of them appeared; only Will Lytton, the young earl's favourite, was present, and very few or none of the gentlemen of the country. The reason was because they were not invited. There was no great stir nor show, saving that the lord privy seal, lord chamberlain, Lord of Worcester, Lord of Pembroke, Lord of Exeter, young Lord St. John, Lord Clifford, Lord Burghley, Lord Denny, Lord Hay, Sir Edward Cecil, the master of the rolls, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Solicitor, were all the mourners, except

¹ Sir Henry Wotton.

² From Ware Park, the seat of Sir Henry Fanshawe.

the executors, and some few household servants. The executors were not those I wrote you in my last, for the will being opened but that morning, the reports were divers and uncertain, but now they fall out to be Sir Walter Cope, Mr. Calvert, Deckham, and Hawton. I can hear of nothing he hath left to Norton, Kyrkham, or Finet. Wilson hath forty pounds a-year annuity, and divers other annuities are spoken of to a great sum. But because I have yet met with no certainty, I will set you down no more of his will. It was generally expected that much would have been done this Whitsuntide in disposing of offices and places, but the king hath put off all to this day, which hath yet brought out nothing that I hear of. If it do, you shall have it, God willing, the next week. It is thought the treasurership shall be executed for a time by commission, and the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord of Northampton, lord chamberlain, Lord Louth, and Mr. Chancellor, are thought to be the men.

For the mastership of the wards, the king saith he hath groped after one in the dark, and will make trial if a meaner man cannot perform it as well as a great, and yet he means not to trust him too far, but will make him provisional till the end of Michaelmas term, and so longer as he shall see cause. And though he saith he hath made no man privy to his resolution, yet it is thought it will light on Sir Francis Bacon.

He is much troubled with the multitude of competitors for the secretaryship, which are named, Sir R. Neville, Sir Thomas Lake, Sir Charles Cornwallis, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Henry Wotton, Sir John Hollis, Sir William Wade: and old Sir John Herbert complains he is not well used if as lieutenant he succeeds not to his captain's place. But the king in this distinction makes no haste to nominate any, but says he is pretty skilled in the craft himself, and till he be thoroughly weary, will execute it in person. Yet I must tell you most voices run with Sir Harry Neville, Sir Thomas Lake, or Sir Harry Wotton, and great means and friends made for the last. His nephew Morton is come newly from him, and it was my chance to meet him within this hour as I

was going into my lodging. He tells me that he heard at Milan that you and your lady were in good health.

On Whitsun Eve there were four priests hanged at Tyburn, who died very confidently, and were suffered to take their fill. But whose fault it was I know not, but sure it was not well. They had been banished twice at least, and would take no warning. The Earl of Arundel, with his young son, were present at the execution, and the Viscount Montacute, with divers ladies and gentlemen in coaches, and yet they were hanged early between six and seven in the morning.

Hawley and Maxwell are finally made friends by the king's appointment, who sent for Hawley, and after conference with him, gave orders that it should be done in the council chamber before the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Suffolk, Northampton, and Worcester, where Maxwell, because he could not read, repeated a wordy satisfaction after the Earl of Northampton, and in saying he asked him forgiveness on his knees bowed himself, and his knee toward him, which was accepted, though at first with some difficulty. It seems the Scottishmen were bodily afraid, for we heard of above three hundred that passed through Ware towards Scotland within ten days.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 17, 1612.

Your two Carmelites are come, and have delivered me your letter of the 29th of April. I have since received a letter of the 22nd of May. Touching your friars, it was my chance to be out of town when they came, and they, unwilling to lose any time, found access to the archbishop in my absence, which came very well to pass, for I should have proved but a bad conductor, having no manner of acquaintance in that house but Mr. Robert Hatton, who is steward. Neither can I tell wherein to pleasure them more than in conveying their letters, which I send here enclosed, whereby you shall receive from themselves a full relation of their present state. They are now lodged at Lambeth, in the bishop's house, where the elder of them

is still to remain. The other is to be sent shortly to the Archbishop of York¹ by the king's appointment, though I think he had rather have continued in these parts if he might have been permitted. Their reception could not be so private as it seems you wished, for they were expected long before they came, and the Bishop of Ely could tell me two months since that there were two such upon the way, which it seems was some time before they set forth. He told me likewise this other day of a certain bishop in the Venetian territory,² (but he had forgot his name) that is writing a work against the Pope's usurping jurisdiction. To tell you freely my opinion as far as I understand this business, though it cannot be denied but you have done a very good and charitable work in reducing these straying sheep, yet I doubt you will reap no great thanks on either side. For, I find our bishops here not very fond of such guests, and think they might have enough of them, if they could provide them maintenance; so that unless they be very eminent, and men of mark, they shall find little regard after a short time.

The king hath been coming and going to Eltham all the last week. He went thither on Saturday, and came back on Monday; and yesternight went thither again; and is this night to lie at Wanstead, which house the master of the rolls³ hath taken, and entertains him there with the charge, as is said, of £700. From hence he goes to Havering, which is in the custody of the Countess of Oxford,⁴ who entertains him likewise at her own charge. But for all his pleasure, he forgets not business; but hath found the art of frustrating men's expectations, and holding them in suspense.

On Saturday, Sir George Carew⁵ was nominated master of the wards; and yesterday he made his entrance with a formal oration. There were three lawyers and three gentlemen in special consideration for the place. The lawyers

¹ Dr. Tobie Matthew.

² This seems to be the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro.

³ Sir Edward Philips.

⁴ Diana, second daughter of William Earl of Exeter and wife of Henry Vere, the eighteenth Earl of Oxford.

⁵ Who had been ambassador to Poland in 1597, and to France from 1605 to 1609. He wrote a "Relation of the State of France," which has been much commended.

were the attorney, the solicitor, and Sergeant Nicholls; the others were, Sir George More, Sir Charles Cornwallis, and this man, who hath lighted on it by his wife's grace with the queen, as is thought, or rather, as others say, by the Lord Rochester. This place is much limited, and hath but £500 a-year of certainty; and perhaps as much more by the ordinary fees of judicature; and withal he is but temporary, and hath his commission but till the 7th of next month: so that it is said his competitors shall come in, and succeed one another by turns. But I cannot be of that mind; for (methinks) when a man is once settled in a place, *turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur*.

The commissions for the treasuryship were signed yesterday; which are the lord privy seal, the lord chamberlain, the Earl of Worcester, the Lord Zouch, Lord Wotton, and Sir Julius Cæsar; whereof Sir Julius Cæsar is of the quorum; and any thing done by him, and one or two of the rest, is as authentical as if it were done by all. It is thought the lord privy seal shall have the place in the end; but he is willing the state of the revenue, and treasure and debts, should be thoroughly looked into, before he meddle withal; and then he to be accountable only for the time forward, that he enters upon it.

Sir Walter Cope wishes you should write now and then to Mr. Chancellor; for he may stand you in great stead. I inquired of him both before my going out of town and even since my coming back, whether there had been any meaning to recal you, and for what intent. He told me that my late lord treasurer said, not long before he died, that some about my Lord Rochester had gone about such a matter; belike to serve their own turn, and put in some of their own creatures. How likely this is, you may judge; but it doth not sound with me; and so I told him. For Sir Thomas Overbury, for aught that I ever knew, doth not wish you ill; and Sir Robert Killigrew, who is one of his next favourites, is your fast friend; and I heard but yesterday that Mr. Packer, your old friend, is become his secretary. But the surest card of all, Sir Henry Neville, will never see you wronged, where he may help. If he had not been strongly oppugned every way, he had been

settled, before this, in the secretaryship. But it is said too much soliciting hath hindered him; and the flocking of parliament-men about him, and their meetings and consultations with the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Sheffield at Lord Rochester's chamber, hath done him no good. For the king says he will not have a secretary imposed on him by parliament; and the Earl of Southampton is gone home, as he came, without a councillorship. In the mean time, the king himself supplies the secretary's place; and all packets are delivered to the lord chamberlain¹ as to the king; and the answering, if French affairs, is referred to Sir George Carew; of Low Country business, to Levinas; of Spanish, to Mr. Culver;² as likewise those of Italy to him; or, as they say, to Mr. Edmondes, clerk of the council; and Sir Francis Lake is for matters at home, as he was before; though they say he offers largely underhand for the higher place; and his wife, rather than fail, will furnish £5000 to make up £15,000. Kyrkham is secretary to the commissioners for the treasury; and Norton hath the reversion of Sir Richard Cooke's places in Ireland, both of secretary and chancellor of the exchequer. But the likeliest now, in the world's eye, for secretary of state, is Mr. Henry Wotton; and it is a general opinion, that the place is reserved for his coming home. He hath very great friends; and the late lord treasurer recommended him to the king at his going away, and in his last letter, wherein were many other remembrances; and it was ready written, but sealed after his death: and his living friends labour much for him. His brother, Edward Lord Wotton, is said to have offered to resign his comptroller's staff, on condition he may be received secretary. But I am not of this opinion; for I know he stood lately upon £5000; which is more than he would spare for that purpose. For the king, being given to understand that he is ill served in parliament by reason of the paucity of councillors and officers of household, that were wont to bear great sway in that House, is minded to reduce it to the form it had in the late queen's days, and so caused the Lord Knollys² and

¹ The Earl of Suffolk.

² Treasurer of the household.

him to be dealt with about it; offering each of them £2000 a-year during their lives, to resign their places. But the Lord Knollys stood upon an earldom, and the Lord Wotton had rather have £5000 in hand: and so stands the case yet. But the queen and prince are earnest in Sir Henry Wotton's behalf; and the Lord Rochester is not willing, after his late reconciliation, to oppose himself, or stand in the breach against such assailants; especially having irons in the fire now of his own, and a patent being (as I hear) drawing to create him Earl of Devonshire; and great means made to the Earl of Worcester to resign his mastership of the horse to him; and so, to become lord privy seal, when the Earl of Northampton removes to the treasury.

It seems some new matter is brewing in Savoy, for that *infanta* with our prince, that our ambassador¹ is so much made of, and presented so richly. His nephew Albertus had a thousand crowns given him by the duke, at his coming away; and during four or five days that he stayed here, he spake four times with the queen, and carried a jewel from her to his uncle, who is willed to make all the haste he can homeward; whereas it was once resolved he should have taken the new emperor in his way; and instructions were drawn for this purpose, to have gone and congratulated his election. But since, that course is altered, and these instructions sent to the Lord Roos, who is in the Low Countries, to do that office.

Touching all that I wrote you before of Signor Fabritio,² I should not nor could not believe it; but that sometimes unfitness and unlikeliness makes a thing more likely.

Your town and University of Oxford have had great disputes and much arguing at the council-table about night-walking and such stuff; wherein the town for their cost and pains are like to have a cold suit. But this animosity of theirs is much ascribed to their Recorder, Mr. Wantworth, as the scholars term him.

Our University of Cambridge is, likewise, in a peck of troubles about choosing their chancellor, after the lord treasurer's death; for most voices going with the Earl of

¹ Sir Henry Wotton.

² Sir Henry Wotton.

Northampton, he accepted it, and sent them a letter of thanks; but understanding afterwards, that the Duke of York¹ was his concurrent, and propounded in the election, he renounced the place; and the king was much displeased that his son should be put in balance with any of his subjects. But, upon a fine letter of submission and notice, that it was done by a few headstrong fellows, that are since bound over to the council-table, he was pacified again. In the mean time, they knew not whither to turn them for a chancellor; for all the noblemen were resolved to refuse, unless the king commanded them to accept it. But I heard this day, that going to a new election, they have chosen the same chancellor again; and the king hath promised he shall hold it.

Doctor Tonson, bishop of Gloucester, died on Sunday, at Windsor.²

Sir Thomas Shirley, the younger, being in the King's Bench for debt, took, the other day, a good quantity of poison, with intent to make himself away; but it being presently³

Richard Earl of Dorset to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

Dorset House, June 22, 1612.

Your lordship's letter of the 22nd of May, Mr. Thoris sent to me, by which I see your lordship keeps me still in your memory, and ties me more to honour and love you daily, and to desire to be so happy as to have means to show how much I covet to have some fair occasion offered whereby my willingness to requite your lordship's favours to me in France may be showed, and in that obtain what I would have. And, for your news, I send you such as we have here, that there is a speech, and hath been this long time, that there shall be three new councillors sworn: but we see no such thing; and, therefore, no cause to be-

¹ Afterwards Charles I.

² Of which he was dean.

³ The remainder of the letter has been lost. Probably the drug was thrown off the stomach. There were two Thomas Sherleys, about this period, one, the elder brother of Anthony and Robert, became, like them, a great traveller, and the other a kinsman, subsequently became physician to Charles II. The death of "old Sir Thomas," probably the father of the three brothers, is announced at p. 214.

lieve it. Three are nominated to stand competitors for the secretaryship; and the wisest think two of those three shall be chosen; because the king intends to have two, one for foreign, and the other for home affairs. Sir Thomas Lake shall have the first, and Sir Harry Neville the latter place. Two days ago, that slave that murdered Turner, the fencer, was brought to town; a multitude of people ran out to see him, cursing and banning him in freer fashion than I will write; for tongues that have nothing to lose dare speak freer than any man dares write, that is lord but of one form, so dangerous are the times wherein now we live. When great men die, such is either their desert, or the malice of people, or both together, as commonly they are ill-spoken of. And so is one that died but lately;¹ more, I think, than ever any one was, and in more several kinds; and his death hath wiped away the memory of other misdeeds, and, as it were, extinguished their faults, his being, if not greater, yet fresher in every man's mouth and memory.

*John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.*²

London, July 2, 1612.

Your two Carmelites³ made a publication of their faith and conversion, with an abjuration of their former errors, on Sunday last, at the Italian Church, in the presence of a great assembly, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was a man of the most mark. I was not there, by the error of my man, whom I sent to learn, and he brought me word that the appointment held not that day. But I understand the elder acquitted himself best in point of learning, and the other in language; as likewise he hath the voice of my Lord of Canterbury's house of the more prompt and quick spirit, and they wish that they might keep them both still; or, if they must part with one, that they might retain him.

The Lord Sanquhar was arraigned on Saturday last, and

¹ The Earl of Salisbury.

² There is a letter from Sir Dudley to Henry Prince of Wales, dated 24th of June, which Dr. Birch printed in his life of the prince: it is merely one of introduction to some distinguished Italians who were about to visit England.

³ Sent to England by Sir Dudley Carleton.

confessed the indictment. He made a long confession of his fault, whereby he had so highly offended God, the king's majesty, his own nation, and this where he did reside, the person whom he murdered, and those who had suffered and were cast away for his offence. Upon all which points he dilated at large, and so behaved himself there, and on Monday, at his execution, that he moved much commiseration, and yet he professed himself a Romish Catholic, and died resolutely, and, as it seemed, with great remorse. His body was taken down presently after he was dead, and carried away by the Lord Roxburgh,¹ the Lord Dingwall, and two or three Scottish lords more, who took order to embalm it and send it to Scotland.

The Countess of Shrewsbury was called before the council and judges, on Tuesday, at the Lord Chancellor's, where, by the attorney and solicitor, and by all the lords and judges, her contempt towards the king and that table was laid open, and much aggravated for her refusing to answer, and scornful terms used towards some at her first conventing, and her persisting still in the same course, which example might prove of dangerous consequence. To all which she replied nothing but the privilege of her person and nobility, and a rash vow which she could not violate. Whereupon she was sent back to the Tower, and this proceeding is thought to be a preamble, if she do not reclaim herself, to a censure in the Star Chamber.²

We have lost Sir Peter Eure, who hath long languished of a dropsy, and, going hence about Whitsuntide, lived not passed a fortnight after his coming home. The memory of the late lord treasurer grows daily worse and worse, and more libels come as it were continually, whether it be that practice and juggling come more and more to light, or that men love to follow the sway of the multitude. But it is certain, that they who may best

¹ Sir Robert Kerr, created Lord Roxburgh in 1600, and an earl on September 18, 1616. He was Lord Privy Seal in the reign of Charles I., and died January 18, 1650. He is ancestor of the present Duke of Roxburgh.

² She was accused of having advised and assisted Arabella Stewart to her stolen marriage; but, much to her honour, resolutely refused to answer the questions of the lords of the council. The countess remained a prisoner in the Tower till the death of her unfortunate kinswoman, when she was discharged.

maintain it, have not forborne to say that he juggled with religion, with the king, queen, their children, with nobility, parliament, with friends, foes, and generally with all. Some of his chaplains have been heard to oppose themselves what they could in the pulpit against these scandalous speeches, but with little fruit. There was a practice in Hertfordshire to have laid open some of his new impaled grounds there the day of his funeral, but, upon notice of it, it was prevented; but now of late it hath been attempted, and in some part performed again.

I came this morning from Sir Ralph Winwood, who sent for me to have gone with him to Greenwich, whither he went to do his duty to the queen. At the first flight of him, this day sennight, in the court at Wanstead, he was looked upon as an apparition, for nobody knew of his coming but the king; and it was straight imagined he should presently be secretary. But it hangs yet in suspense, and the king says nothing to him of that matter, but employs him in writing letters, which breeds much discourse about him, *pro* and *contra*, and sets envy at work how to prevent him, and to kill him with lies, after the Irish proverb. In the mean time, he makes them all afraid; and, for my part, (though I am not usually confident in such cases) yet I think verily he will carry it in the end, if his own impatience to lie between wind and water don't hurt him.

Some say the king hath made a promise to the queen, not to dispose of the place until the return of Sir Henry Wotton, which is the cause of this delay. But, howsoever it fall out, he is already, as it were, possessed of it by the general voice; and he hath it from good hands, that if the lord treasurer had lived in good health till this day, he had been in it before this time; which, perhaps, was the cause that he did so much malign him of late, and sought all means he could to depress and disgrace him, insomuch that it is not long since some who best might have said that he scorned Edmondes and hated Winwood, and therefore sought to bring in Wotton. I know not how far you will avow my endeavour, but I have dealt with him to put you into the place whence he came, if matters fall out as

he wish. He hath promised his uttermost furtherance, if you have a mind to accept it.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, July 3, 1612.

How much I have lost by the death of my late patron, there is none knoweth better than yourself, by means whereof, because I am destitute of other *appoggio*, I have resolved to take sanctuary in the church.¹ This is the reason of the writing of the enclosed, which I recommend to your care, as one that understandeth well what circumspection is to be used in concealing such a business from the knowledge of others. If your acquaintance be good, either with himself or any about him, that are in principal place, I should be glad it passed out of your hands into his: but if you be a stranger in that house, I leave it to your discretion to find out some sure man, that may give it conveyance without noise. The contents are of some importance, and therefore I shall be glad to hear that it be delivered to him with as much speed as may be.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

However men use the liberty of their censures, the times will be very fortunate, if there be no miss of such a person.² For the rest, I am like to continue my former course, which is plain and direct, without seeking *vias obliquas*; yet I endeavour to remove those impressions which you give me warning of upon the first fit occasion. I agree with you in opinion, that Fabritio³ hath lent me that charity; and, if for satisfying his particular malice in other occasions, the king's service did not suffer, I should easily forgive him, but as yet I complain not.

¹ Sir Dudley, if he ever seriously entertained this intention, soon abandoned it.

² Earl of Salisbury.

³ Sir Henry Wotton. It appears that Carleton regarded him with some ill feeling, possibly from jealousy; hence this nickname.

Our greatest news here is the great reception of Sir Henry Wotton at Turin, with his entertainments, whilst he remained here, and rewards at parting.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq:

Venice, July 16, 1612.

* * * * being in requital of your news of the loss of our great man, whom I had reason to account my great friend, to return you the like of the death of one, whom I am sure you will lament with me, this good old Duke Leonardo Donato, who died on Monday last seven-night about noon, being the 6th of this present. He was never his own man since the midst of April, when he was taken with a pleurisy, of which he was then let blood, and after he was ever troubled with a swelling and mortifying of his legs, yet did he seem to recover strength by little and little, so as there was hope he would have lasted longer, and towards his end, he assisted daily in their councils, and even the day he died, he spent the whole morning in the college, from whence, retiring at the accustomed hour, and having withdrawn himself into his *guarda roba*, where he was alone, when he was heard to cry out suddenly, and one of his servants running in, he fell into his arms, and never spoke more, but breathed an hour after. I had an audience of him the Thursday before, which was the last he gave to any ambassador; and though he complained long of weakness, and indeed was much broken in looks, yet he retained his wonted vigour of spirit and readiness of speech, and I do not remember that at any time I found him in better humour to talk even of frivolous matters. The day he died, as if he had some sense of his departure, he entertained the college with a whole hour's speech, testifying so much good will to the State, and insisting so long upon cautions and counsels in the choice of his successor, that he left them all weeping, and yet it seems he did not think to have gone so soon, having been at small cost with himself, whereof there was [no] special [need], because of his extreme par-

simony, and you shall have it amongst other *observationes minorum rerum*.

Ever since he was duke, he kept himself to his old gondola, after the old fashion, and even now he had made a new one with long irons and other ornaments, wherein he had made but one voyage to his new building, which was finished, and all the scaffolds taken away the Friday before he died, and he was observed that day to row to and fro in the laguna towards Murano, to see what show his house made, wherein he took so much pleasure, that you well [might have] termed it his child; and yet I must tell you, by the way, that he hath buried much cost in it, for now it is finished, it looks very poorly, and he had the misfortune to overhear, that day that he was viewing it in his gondola, certain young *nobili* call it, in scorn, *terrada*, which it is said did more trouble him than could be expected of so wise a man in so small a matter, and his brother, Nicolo Donato (who is a man of principal merit, but ever cross to the duke, and as they term him *diabolo in casa*, and particularly an enemy to his buildings, as willing to have him with that cost make purchases for him or his children), did so harp upon this string, that he is much blamed for it, as if he had hastened his brother's end by putting him into frets; and this is the rather believed, because the duke, in his will, left him nothing but a ring, giving both the house and such land as he had to his eldest son, who bears the duke's name, of which he would have more willing have had the use himself for his time. He left nothing [to the church], at which his enemies take advantage, as they do likewise at his sudden death, without confession or other superstitious ceremonies, till he was past sense; so as I am told, that upon his hearse, where numbers of verses and epitaths in his commendation (whereof I send you some), there was likewise pinned a malicious libel, "*Leonardo damnato: sicut vivit sic moritur: sine luce, sine Deo.*" So as, you see, greatness and virtue will never be *sine invidia*.

His body was buried the next day after his death in George's, at the Guidecca, accompanied with only one of his kin, one priest, and a servant; and he did insinuate,

in the time of his sickness, when he mistrusted himself, a kind of ambition to have his image placed in the *facciata* of that church. His funerals were performed with the accustomed ceremony of the whole clergy and seignorie in procession, on Saturday last, in the church of San Giovanni e San Paulo, wherein was noted a true countenance of mourners in the Seignorie; but amongst the friars much greater shows of joy and gladness; and the people, discontented with this last year's penury and scarcity of corn, vented their rage, with exclamations, upon the poor duke, that if some unusual haste had not been made into the church, it was doubted some violence would have been offered that image which was carried for him, even at the door, for which there was good justice showed the next day upon two, who were both roundly sent to the galleys; the one for crying, "*Cala, cala,*" the other for a ridiculous rhyme, "*Viva San Marco, e la Signoria; che muerto el Doge de la Carestia.*"

The next day after his funeral they began their new election, which they despatched with extraordinary diligence and as unexpected secrecy; the Procurator Mocenigo having the first day the greatest advantage, afterwards the Broglio went so much in favour of Moro, that, when they came to the election on Tuesday morning, he was chosen with thirty-nine balls of the forty-one, and the other had but two; wherein this novelty is observed, that it is 230 years since any of the Casa Vecchie were dukes until now, and 640 since they had a Moro. This is a man of high stature and comely appearance, and hath always been *innocentie popularitatis*, which helped him much; but his greatest advantage was his years and weakness, whereby he will quickly give place for another, he beginning just where his predecessor left, some few days only difference; and he that had seen them both together, would have judged the other more likely to live. I had yesterday a private audience of him in his lodgings, and received so good satisfaction from him, that I wish we may enjoy him long. The solemnity of his swearing in St. Marc's Church, and carrying him on men's shoulders about the Piazza, where he flung money amongst the

people, was better worth the sight than the relating, it being a true representation of the old popular government: and more madness was never seen amongst the people, in breaking and burning all that was loose; insomuch, that, with tables and planks, that were flung out of the windows into the palace court, all the surgeons in the town are set on work about broken heads.

The world is now grown somewhat more quiet, and they begin to think that, if this duke may arrive to the merit of the other, about whom there was less noise, they have made a good choice. The other had run through the whole course of foreign ambassages; this of domestic employments, but never was abroad, and this popular applause proceeds from much of the affection is borne the old [Doge]; and therein the choice is much approved, because they have thereby stopped the rumour of factions betwixt those families, which was prognosticated by many to be the ruin of this long-lasting commonwealth.

The Prince Doria, we hear, is dead at Genoa. Other news at present we have little in these parts. I am heartily glad that one of my friends is sent to York to supply the place of his son.

If nothing be yet said to Fabritio, I desire the matter may not; for a kind letter I have lately received from him hath buried all unkindness. Besides, I think Master will now have but small power *pour faire le maître*.

I pray God send our good friend good luck in that I wish, or else I could wish, for his own sake, he had made a journey home at any time rather than now. Sir Thomas Glover is departed Constantinople, with purpose to return home this way. God hold him in that good mind.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 18, 1612.

Sir Ralph Winwood sets forward, or rather backward, this day to the Hague. He took his leave yesterday of the queen, and the day before of the prince, being sent for again, after he had ended complimenting, as he thought, the

last week. There is a general opinion that we shall see him again before Michaelmas, or soon after, and the reason of this deferring is said to be that the king is not yet resolved on a second, which, if it should fall out to be Sir Henry Neville or Wotton, it would seem as inconvenient they should come behind him as to leap over his head. These be the discourses of those that wish him well, *nam facile credimus quod volumus*. And, for my part, I am not so hard of belief as to hold out against so many fair words and promises, so much good usage, so general allowance, and so many probabilities, as concur in this choice. For, upon examination, it is found that each several party labours not so much against him directly as to bring in their own creature, of whom, if they were assured, they would not greatly contend for the second place; so that, howsoever it fall out, there is hope you shall have an Oliver for a Rowland, and if I should succeed with Sir Harry Neville (as there is of late great likelihood), it would prove a jubilee. Sir Thomas Lake is said to have left off the canvass, and to look after somewhat else, if he can compound with the old chancellor of the duchy.¹

The Lord Beauchamp died the last week, at his house near Staines. The Earl of Hertford, his father, takes his death more grievously than was expected. Harry Boughton and his sister, Mrs. Fowler, are apprehended and committed for coining of foreign gold, and, as is thought, it will go hard with them.

Sir Walter Cope hath made an apology for the late lord treasurer, and delivered it to the king when he was last week at Kensington, wherein, besides his answer and defence for all or most of that objected against him, he insinuates himself and his sufficiency, as having much experience and many secrets, that may be for the king's service, and so would fain be set at work. He promised me a copy of it so soon as can be written out, having, as he saith, given divers of them abroad. He told me the other day, at my being with him, that he had sent to invite the Venetian ambassador to his house at Kensington, and to kill a buck in Hyde Park, which he took very

¹ Sir Thomas Parry.

thankfully, and promised very shortly to accept his kind offer. This he wished me to write that he had done for your sake, and that you would excuse him for not writing, by reason of many and continual affairs.

Sir Thomas Lake to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

From the Court at Amphyll, July 23, 1612.

I have received commandment from his majesty to give reason to you upon that part of his letter which telleth why his majesty told not to the French ambassador the conclusion which he speaketh of, and wished your lordship in his former letter to use, in case the queen¹ persisted wilful. The reason was, for that the ambassador did not seem in all his speech to touch upon that point, as though he had not heard of it from the queen; and therefore his majesty would say nothing to him of it, but leaveth your lordship in the same terms you were by his majesty's former letter; that is, according as you find the queen: if kind, and willing to satisfy, then to suppress that conclusion; or, if wilful, and persisting in any course that may not thoroughly satisfy his majesty, then to use it according to that direction. I saw not that first letter, but both that and this were dictated by his majesty, and written by my Lord of Rochester, but delivered to me to convey.

The said lord groweth potent in affairs here, and therefore you shall do wisely to respect him thereafter: he hath now the signets delivered to him, which, since the lord treasurer's death, have remained with me by way of custody, as they did in his sickness, and have done often before in his absence. But this maketh much discourse here what his lordship's ends may be.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, July 24, 1612.

That which you have done about my transplantation doth very well agree with my desire; and I account it to be out of the warm sun into God's blessing. Wherefore I

¹ Of France.

shall be very glad it may proceed: only, I will recommend this caution *de modo*. For me to be a suitor for the place would expose me to the censures both of wise men and fools; whereof the first would condemn me of levity and desire of change, by which I were like to stumble on the rolling stone. The other, carried away with the delights of these parts, would think that the plainness and homeliness of these were not to be preferred. I should not much stand upon satisfying of others; but if his majesty may be induced to think my service better employed there than here, I should easily satisfy myself; and I know whether I might promise myself more ability to discharge my duty there than here. But so it is of late, that weakness and indisposition grow upon me, which the physicians persuade me would be better in a place more agreeable to our natural climate. And now you know my mind, I pray you proceed upon my desire, according to that you began so friendly of yourself.

To Sir R. W.¹ I know not what or how to write until I hear he be settled, which I hope I shall by your next: and mean time, I pray hourly for the good news, which will settle and satisfy my mind very much, whether my future be to rest here or elsewhere. Mean time, (I must confess to you) I wish the uncertainty of advertisements, both concerning my best friends and myself, is somewhat distracted.

Mr. Rowland Whyte to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

The Court at Ashby,² July 30, 1612.

The Count Palatine of the Rhine sent one Monsieur Schomberg here to the king, to desire his majesty to give him leave to come over; which is assented unto, and the 20th of September he will be here. Schomberg was much graced here, and kindly used by the king, and is gone much contented with the assurance he brings the Palatine how welcome he shall be here.

My Lord of Rochester keeps all the signet-seals, and makes daily despatches into all parts, as the king's service

¹ Sir Ralph Winwood.

² Lord Compton's.

requires it, and most despatches are addressed unto him from all parts. The dockets for all things that must pass the signet are brought to his honour, to be allowed of ere they be despatched. It is thought that his honour will be one of the principal secretaries, and some other that he shall like of.

There is a purpose to put down all the great tables in court, without any manner of allowance in lieu of it. Some speak of the meaner tables also; but men will not well be able to attend without meat and drink, or some allowance for it. Men speak that there will be a cessation of the payments of all pensions and annuities for one year, and the Commission is a renewing for the creation of baronets.

All care is taken by the six commissioners that execute the office of lord treasurer, to put the king out of debt and to fill his majesty's coffers: which God grant may be done to his majesty's contentment.

The court is yet very small; but the prince is looked for at Belvoir Castle, which will increase the train. The queen and the lords will not be with the king ere we come to Woodstock, which will be about the end of August: at which time it is thought there will be a resolution taken for principal secretary.

I wish you all honour, and that your lordship may be thought upon according to your merit. But absence is an enemy to preferment, especially when his assured friends want power to do it. The time of getting is past, believe me. Therefore, your lordship may do well to live so as not to hurt the estate that must maintain you at your return. But, if you wish your honour, to better it by frugality. The love I bear you will help to excuse this boldness of mine.

George Calvert, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

Charing Cross, August 1, 1612.

This bearer, Monsieur Tourval, acquainting me with his purpose to see France, I have gladly taken the opportunity to salute your lordship, and to continue my claim to that place which you have given me in your favour.

I doubt not but your lordship hath, by the industry of your agents and other friends here, heard that already, which I must tell you for news, if I write anything at all. You know the *primum mobile* of our court, by whose motion all the other spheres must move, or else stand still; the bright sun of our firmament, at whose splendour or glooming all our marigolds of the court open or shut. In his conjunction all the other stars are prosperous, and in his opposition mal-ominous. There are in higher spheres as great as he, but none so glorious. All this is no news to you. To leave allegories, the king is in progress, and we are far from the court now to hear certainties, but it is told me yesterday that my Lord of Pembroke and my Lord of Rochester are so far out, as it is almost come to a quarrel. I know not how true this is, but Sir Thomas Overbury and my Lord of Pembroke have been long jarring; and therefore the other is likely. Our secretaries no man can tell who shall be; but the fairest is Neville, and some say Winwood also. He is returned back again into the Low Countries, not without great danger of shipwreck, as I hear; and my Lady Winwood either dead, or in great danger, not likely to escape a sickness which she hath had since his departure.

Sir Stephen le Sieur is going to reside ambassador at Prague with the emperor. My Lord Rutland¹ died two months since, and his lady the countess is gone after him the last night. ★

Of treasurer, *point encore, parce qu'il n'y a point de trésor.*

The ambassador, Don Pedro de Zuniga, is yet here, no man knows why, for he hath taken his leave of the king. But to show that he is unwelcome, as he was riding in his *carrosse* with his six mules over Holborn Bridge the other day, with his great lethugador about his neck, and coming upon his elbow, at the side of the *carrosse* comes a fellow by him on horseback; and whether *de guet-apens*, or otherwise, I cannot tell, but he snatches the ambassador's hat off his head, which had a rich jewel in it, and rides away with it up the street as fast as he could, the people

¹ Roger, fifth earl.

going on and laughing at it. The fellow was not lighted on again, for anything I hear; but I am sorry they have so just an advantage against us to say we are barbarous in our city of London.¹

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

August 11, 1612.

Your letters of the 16th of the last met me here, just at my return out of Oxfordshire, where I made no long stay, being sorry to see so much representation of ruin in a place where I had heretofore taken so much delight. For they have, in a manner, cut down all the trees about Ascot, and so defaced the hedges, walks, and gardens, that a man who had known it before would think some enemies had passed that way, and done their worst to disgrace it. Yet the owners seem to please themselves with saying, that by this course they have gained money to their purse, more light, better air, and longer prospect. Your brother was not in the country, but gone with his son into Hertfordshire.

I made a step to Oxford, which doth flourish as fast as other things decay. Sir Thomas Bodley's addition to the Library is a fair and substantial building, suitable, on the outside, to the divinity schools. Mr. Wadham's New College would have been a fine, handsome fabric, if it had been as well placed and contrived, as it might easily have been. But the most pleasing thing I saw was the new quadrangle at Morton College, a graceful work, and that may stand for a second foundation. It was not my good hap to find Sir Henry Saville there; but I understand he came within two or three days after. * * * *

The prince went post after the king on Thursday, and (they say) overtook him the next day. The queen begins her progress to-morrow to Windsor, and so, by Sir Robert Dormer's and Sir Richard Blount's, to Woodstock.

Signor Fabritio, [Sir Henry Wotton] after five or six

¹ In another place we are told that the ambassador, observing a well-dressed cavalier approaching his carriage, pulled off his hat out of the window, which was enriched with a handsome band and jewel, when the fellow snatched it out of his hand and rode off.

days' loitering about this town, is gone towards the king with his pictures and projects.

The messenger from the Count Palatine (some say his steward) had the ill luck, in the delivery of his letters, to give the Lady Elizabeth's to the prince, and his to her; and withal gave so much attendance, and was so long delayed in getting audience of the queen, that he went away much discontented.

The widow Countess of Rutland¹ died about ten days since, and is privately buried in Paul's, by her father, Sir Philip Sidney. Sir Walter Raleigh is slandered to have given her certain pills that despatched her. Her uncle, the Lord Lisle,² is gone over to Flushing, richer by £1000 land a-year by her death. The rest of her inheritance by Secretary Walsingham is returned to the Lady Clanricarde,³ and is at her disposing. It is certainly said that the lord chamberlain had concluded a match with her for his son, Sir Thomas Howard; and I hear she was lodged and died at Durham House.

The Countess of Essex⁴ was going to her lord into Staffordshire; and some of her carriage⁵ was sent away; but she hath since changed her purpose, and is come to this town, being in hand (as I hear) to buy or take Sir Roger Aston's house,⁶ beyond Hounslow, that stands commodiously for many purposes. Sir Oliver Manners⁷ is newly come out of France, and, I hear, speaks much honour of you and my lady.

Our men are said to thrive ill in Denmark, being most of them consumed by the sword or sickness; insomuch that, of 4000, they are scant able to make show of 600. There is a commission out till the end of this month to Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Julius Cæsar, Baron Sotherton, Mr.

¹ Elizabeth, widow of Roger, Earl of Rutland, and only daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, by Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham.

² Sir Robert, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney, for his gallant achievements created, May 13, 1603, Baron Sydney of Penshurst; the following year, Viscount L'Isle. In 1618 he was raised to the earldom of Leicester. He was Lord Chamberlain to the queen, and knight of the garter. He died in 1626.

³ Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, married, first to Sir Philip Sidney, then to Robert Earl of Essex, and lastly to the Earl of Clanricarde.

⁴ Frances, daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk.

⁵ i.e., apparel, plate, and furniture.

⁶ At Cranford, in Middlesex.

⁷ One of the sons of John Earl of Rutland.

Attorney, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir George Carew, Sir George More, Sir Walter Cope, and two or three more, to devise projects and means for money. The world thinks it a strange choice, since most of them are noted for not husbanding and well governing their own estate. God keep them from base courses! Yet the speech goes that they harp most upon debasing of money.

It is long since I heard of Master Pory, but now at last understand he lies leiger at Paris, maintained by the Lord Carew, who fell away from the little man [the Earl of Salisbury] ever since his [Carew's] return out of Ireland.

I had almost forgotten that the Prince Peretti, brother to the Cardinal Montalti, is here with sixteen or seventeen followers, and will not be known, but passeth up and down among the rest.¹

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, August 12, 1612.

For your care in conveying mine, which I made bold to direct unto you, I very heartily thank you, and promise not often to put you to the like trouble; for I shall not often put myself to that labour of courtship, which I find very contrary to my genius. I only now attend that great devotion to see what star I am to follow, according to which I shall conscientiously and without alteration direct my course; and if good wishes could make me shoot back again, it should not be long undone.

Sir Ralph Winwood advertised me of his arrival in Holland, and expectation of his return into England again before long, though he doth not much build upon it; and in case that fall out, he hath written to me to the same effect, as I understood by you in your former letters, concerning my particular, with this addition, that both he and Sir H. N.² hath treated with some principal persons at home to the same purpose, so as the matter is advanced farther than I thought; and I am no whit sorry for it, if it take effect, for I think no place can agree with me for

¹ This is the party for whom Sir Dudley Carleton wrote the letter of introduction preserved in Birch's "Life of Prince Henry."

² Sir Henry Neville.

health worse than this, and you know there is nothing more considerable.

I am now upon the point of taking a house at Padua, both for the benefit of that air and opportunity of exercise; and even change of place will be fine help, at least yield entertainment. My wife and my sister hold up their health well, and all the rest, now they know what belongs to good order, find nothing amiss.

We have at this present a great confluence of English from all parts; my Lord Ross, and one Mr. Canfield in his company, by the way of Augusta; Toby Mathew, who is so broken with travel, that Gregorio, not knowing his name, terms him *il vecchio*; and one Gage, a sworn brother of the same profession. They are going to Naples, there to winter, if a journey to Jerusalem do not divert them, of which they are treating, upon the good success of Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Bowes (whom you knew here), who are both safely returned, though the latter have an ague on his back. Of seven Dutch gentlemen, which made the journey with them, and came back as far as Cyprus, three they buried in that island, and flung the other three overboard, betwixt that place and this. The weakest of all, and he that was longest sick, and seemed in most danger, made a scrambling shift to get hither, and is well recovered. Mr. Hare left them at Cyprus, and took a course towards Naples by Malta.

We had here lately a tragical accident near us, at Mestre, whither we have found the way to wear out some idle time. An abbess of a convent in a monastery of nuns being found dead in her bed, having her throat cut, and the knife sticking in it, upon examination of the fact, three of the young nuns, at last, were found with great bellies (for so many are publicly spoken of), for which a prior and a priest are laid fast at Treviso upon suspicion, but as yet it is not known how the murder was committed.

Here are brought prisoners in this town a bishop of Lusinna, in Dalmatia, and a captain of a place subject to the patriarch of Aquileia, for hindering the accustomed *obsequito* which should have been performed for the late

duke, saying, that he was *principe heretico*, and was not therefore to have a Christian burial.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

Ware Park, September 11, 1612.

Since my coming from London, I have neither met with any thing greatly worth the writing, nor received any letter from you, more than that of the 27th of July, which required no further answer, seeing the case is quite altered whereto that had reference. And yet I cannot despair, so long as the place¹ is vacant, for I will not believe that the world will long continue as it doth, but that the necessity of business will call for supply, and in common discourse there is no man preferred before our good friend.²

Sir Julius Cæsar lay eight or ten days at a house in this country, at a house and piece of land he hath lately purchased of Sir Leonard Hyde, whither I went with Sir Henry Fanshawe³ and his lady,⁴ and was very kindly used by him both there and here at Ware Park, where he continued two half days on his way homeward. He showed me your letter of the 24th of July, and in many other matters communicated so freely with me, that I could not but take it as a matter of extraordinary favour and trust. He hath a special care of you, and of himself concurred in the conceit of drawing you nearer home upon the first occasion. He told me that though your cousin, Sir W. Cope, arrogated much to himself in your advancement, yet he was but a secondary cause, and never showed himself till he, as a *primus motor*, had set it on foot, and that divers ways and divers times, adding many particulars; not sparing to glance at the little great man that is gone, as occasion fell out, whom his lady⁵ makes no conscience to forbear, as he comes in her way, for his coarse usage to her husband. Among other things, he told me what a

¹ Of secretary.

² Sir Ralph Winwood.

³ Of Ware Park. He held the office of remembrancer of the exchequer. He had two sons: the eldest, Thomas, K. B., was created Viscount Fanshawe; the other, Richard, was created a baronet.

⁴ Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Smythe, Esq., of Ostenhanger.

⁵ Alice, second wife of Sir Julius Cæsar, widow of John Dent, merchant, and daughter of Christopher Grand, gent.

shift he was put to at his coming out of town; that the prince having entreated him to provide him £1000, in so many Jacobus pieces, against a certain day, and he having the promise of a prime man in London, when it came to the jump he failed him, so that his journey had been dashed, if his daughter Vere,¹ at this pinch, had not furnished him upon an hour's warning out of her own store.

The progress hath been so far off, or we so far out of the way, that we hear little what hath passed, only the prince made the king an entertainment, with some devices, at Woodstock.

Sir Michael Hicke² died not long since at his house in Essex,³ of a burning ague, which came, as is thought, by his often going into the water this last summer, which, though it might seem to refresh him for the time, yet was thought unseasonable for a man of his years.

Sir Stephen le Sieur is designed ambassador, and to reside with the new emperor, whither he means to carry his lady, and provides to be gone out of hand with bag and baggage.

Fabritio⁴ lingered and trifled so long in his way home, that Sir Peter Saltonstall, arriving some week or ten days before him, was sent for, and did the best part of his errand beforehand.

There hath been great hurt done by fire of late, both at Ely, Birmingham, and other places, but specially at Tiverton, a great clothing town in Devonshire, where, the 5th of August, the whole town was burnt, saving the church, the parsonage, and an almshouse. And it is the more lamentable, because it had the like mischance some eight or nine years ago, as I take it, and was now newly built and finished.

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Julius Cæsar's second wife, and widow of Sir Francis Vere, governor of the Brill.

² Secretary to the lord treasurer Burghley.

³ Rackholt, built by him.

⁴ Sir Henry Wotton.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 22, 1612.

The king came from Theobalds on Saturday, having notice of the Count Palatine's arrival at Gravesend the night before. He had a very speedy and prosperous passage; for coming from the Hague on Thursday, at eleven o'clock, he embarked that evening at Maesland Sluice, and the next night, about ten, landed at Gravesend, where he continued all Saturday; and on Sunday morning the Duke of Lennox, and some other noblemen and courtiers, were sent to conduct him to the court, where he arrived about five o'clock, and was met at the water-gate by the Duke of York, attended by the Earls of Shrewsbury, Worcester, and others, and so brought through the hall, and along the terrace, to the new great chamber, where the king expected him. The prince stirred not a foot, which was much noted. He had a great peal of ordnance as he passed by the Tower, and came with some disadvantage into such presence, having been so long on the water in the coldest days that came this winter; and yet he carried himself with that assurance, and so well and gracefully, both toward king, queen, and prince, and specially his mistress, that he won much love and commendation.¹ The king is much pleased in him, and carried him presently into his bedchamber, and there bestowed a ring of the value of £1800 upon him. From thence he was conveyed through the privy lodgings and galleries to the water, and so to Essex House, where he yet remains; but is every day at court, and plies his mistress hard, and takes no delight in running at ring, nor tennis, nor riding with the prince, as Count Henry, his uncle, and others of his company do, but only in her conversation. On Tuesday she sent to invite him, as he sat at supper, to a play of her own servants in the Cockpit; and yesterday they were all day together at Somerset House, which is much beautified within this year or two. He hath a train of very sober

¹ There is a curious account of his reception preserved in a letter from Walter Pye to Sir John Scudamore.—See Ellis, *Original Letters*, vol. iv., p. 171. Third Series.

and well-fashioned gentlemen; his whole number is not above 170, servants and all, being limited by the king not to exceed. There have been some called *coram*, for scandalous speeches of him and the match. Amongst the rest, Hugh Holland,¹ who shifted the matter reasonably well with taking the oath of allegiance; and, as I hear, Sir Robert Drury, who is lately come over, and because he found not such entertainment of him or his, as in his vanity he expected, speaks maliciously. But howsoever some would embase his means, and meanness of estate and title to match with such a lady, yet all do approve his manners and behaviour; and there be, that stick not to prefer or equal him, at least, with the best princes in Italy for blood and dignity, and not far behind them in revenue; his rents and earnings in being approved to be £160,000 a-year, besides provisions, which amount to half as much more, and his charge and expense not answerable to theirs.

I hear a whispering that the match with Savoy cools, so that unless Fabritio² and such like blow the coal to warm themselves, it may in good time be quite quenched. Some say the Banquier agent here falls from eight to seven hundred thousand crowns, and these to be after the account of English crowns. In the mean time, Fabritio gives himself *buon tempe*, and follows good company, and plays, as familiarly and ordinarily, as if he had nothing else to do, and yet some say he hath managed another matter, that Baldwin the Jesuit shall be delivered for Mole, the Lord Roos's tutor, that hath been so long in the Inquisition at Rome.

The Lord Vaux is pardoned the *premunire*, and delivered out of the Fleet or King's Bench to the custody of the Dean of Westminster, to see what good may be done with him. We have got no translating nor making of new officers, so that some think this long opposition may drive both sides to resolve upon some indifferent subject. For which purpose Sir Thomas Edmondess is much spoken of,

¹ Educated at Westminster School, and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was eminent for his talent in poetry, especially in the Latin language, but was always supposed to be a Papist in his heart. He died in July, 1633.

² Sir Henry Wotton.

the rather, because the king hath lately given very good words of him. The day before our coming from Ware Park, we had one of the sorest tempests that ever I heard, and now we hear of much harm done, and about fifty sail one and other known to be cast away, especially about Yarmouth, great numbers of fishermen and coalmen.

Bond,¹ your old schoolfellow or schoolmaster, of the Parliament House, is lately dead. The Lord Fenton hath sold his interest in Ampthill Parks to the particular keepers for seven thousand five hundred pounds.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 4, 1612.

Since my last of the 22nd of October here is little alteration, though much expectation from day to day of new officers, whether it be of their own eagerness and haste, that hinders one another, or the king's disposition willing to please all and offend none, or else that the results of those secret wheels and windings are not yet accorded. I hear a good friend of yours, Sir H. N.,² takes great pains to reconcile and set all in tune, and is in good hope to effect it. Yet there are exceptions taken to him that he cannot be content to come in himself, but he must bring in his man Sir R. W.,³ and his champion the Earl of Southampton, and whosoever he thinks good. It may be indeed that the great favourite, embracing too much at once, will mar all, or at least make long delay, which is not without danger, according to the proverb, *periculum in morâ*. Yet we have had it here in full cry this fortnight and more, that the first easterly wind would bring over our good friend.⁴ And it was generally thought, I believe, that he was sent for and was to come with the Palsgrave, if the letters had come in time. In truth, the common voice both at court and elsewhere runs current and constant with nobody but him, and I will hope that *vox*

¹ John Bond, Master of the Free School at Taunton, in Somersetshire, and member for that town in the Parliament that began March 19, 1603. He practised physic, and was author of a Commentary on Horace, and another on Persius.

² Sir Henry Neville.

³ Sir Ralph Winwood, who was secretary to Sir Henry Neville while ambassador in France from Queen Elizabeth.

⁴ Sir Ralph Winwood.

populi is vox Dei. There have been means made for others, and (as I wrote you) good words have been given Sir Thomas Edmondes, but they vanished quickly; and Sir George More hath not wanted the voice of a great prelate who hath many irons in the fire at this time, and great difference, they say, with some of the greatest. The best is, Signor Fabritio is thought to be down the wind, and I hope his business will follow the same way. The king confronted him lately with a railing book of one Scrippius,¹ (as I take it) where he cites him as a dissembler and sent for the purpose, as having at his coming out of Italy written in a German's book or *album amicorum*, "*H. W. Legatus vir bonus missus ad mentiendum Respublicæ causâ.*" And though he would have avowed it as a meriment, yet the king told him it was no jesting matter, and that he should answer for himself, for he would have it cleared. I have this from some that were by, for it fell out as the king was at dinner.

The Count Palatine continues in favour and liking with all, especially at court, where he is now lodged in the late lord treasurer's lodgings. Yesterday night the Lady Elizabeth invited him to a solemn supper and a play, and they meet often at meals without curiosity or crowing. On Sunday was sevensnight he dined with the king and prince in the privy chamber, but sat bare all the while, whether by custom or rather, as is thought, to bear the prince company, who never come abroad since that day, being seized by a fever that come upon him at first with a looseness, but hath continued a quotidian ever since Wednesday last and with more violence than it began, so that on Saturday he was let blood by advice of most physicians, though Butler, of Cambridge, was loth to consent. The blood proved foul; and that afternoon he grew very sick, so that both king, queen, and Lady Elizabeth went severally to visit him, and revelling and plays appointed for that night were put off. But the next morning he was somewhat amended, and so continues every day bettering. He and

¹ Schoppius, a German artist and Latin poet, who in 1611 published a work called "*Ecclesiasticus*," reflecting severely on James I. of England and Henry IV. of France; for which offence his writings were burnt in Paris by the hangman, and the servants of the English ambassador at Madrid, where he was then staying, cudgelled him severely. He died at Padua, in 1649.

the Count Palatine were invited and promised to the lord mayor's feast on Thursday last, and great preparations were made for them; but by this accident he failed.

The Count Palatine and his company, after they had seen the show in Cheapside, went to Guildhall, and were there feasted and welcomed by Sir John Swinnerton, the new made lord mayor, and presented toward the end of the dinner in the name of the city with a fair standing cup, a curious basin and ewer, with two large livery pots, weighing altogether 1200 ounces, to the value almost of £500. The merchant adventurers had sent him a present of wine the Saturday before, to the value of one hundred marks. He behaved himself very courteously and in very good fashion at the feast, and would needs go to see and salute the lady mayoress and her train where she sat. The show was somewhat extraordinary, with four or five pageants and other devices, and the day was fair enough on land, but great winds on the water had like to have marred all, for divers of the companies were in great danger and fain to run their barges on ground and some to turn back, so that my lord mayor, with much ado, came almost alone to Westminster.

If the prince's sickness do not hinder, the king means to go towards Royston on Friday, and, it is thought, carries the young count along with him. Judge Yelverton¹ died on Friday last, of very age, and Sir Edward Drury, that was of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth.

I know not whether I wrote you that Casaubon had a son lately born here, christened by the king and the Lord of Canterbury, whose deputies for that purpose were, the Bishops of Bath and Wells² and Rochester;³ the god-mother was Sir George Carew's lady.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 12, 1612.

When I was closing up my letter to you the last week, I understood more of the prince's sickness than I was willing to impart; for I knew it could be no welcome news

¹ Not Sir Henry Yelverton, who did not die till 1630.

² Dr. James Montague.

³ Dr. John Buckridge.

anywhere; and I was in hopes the world might amend. But going the next morning, the 5th of November, to hear the Bishop of Ely preach at court, upon the 22nd verse of the 3rd chapter of Revelations, I found, by the king and queen's absence from the sermon, and by his manner of praying for him, how the matter stood, and that he was *pleni deploratus*. For I cannot learn that he had either speech or perfect memory after Wednesday night, but lay, as it were, drawing on till Friday, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, that he departed. The world here is much dismayed at the loss of so beloved and likely a prince on such a sudden, and the physicians are much blamed, though, no doubt, they did their best. But the greatest fault is laid on Turquet,¹ who was so forward to give him a purge the day after he sickened, and so dispersed the disease, as Butler says, into all parts; whereas, if he had tarried till three or four fits or days had been passed, they might the better have judged of the nature of it; or if, instead of purging, he had let him bleed before it was so much corrupted, there had been more probability. These imputations lie hard upon him, and are the more urged, by reason of a hard censure set forth in print, not long since, by the physicians of Paris against him, wherein they call him *temulentum, indoctum, temerarium, et indignum*, with whom any learned physician should confer or communicate. It is verily thought that the disease was no other than the ordinary ague that hath reigned and raged almost all over England since the latter end of summer, which, by observation, is found must have its ordinary course, and the less physic the better, but only sweating, and an orderly course of keeping and government. The extremity of the disease seemed to lie in his head, for remedy whereof they shaved him, and applied warm cocks, and pigeons newly killed, but with no success.²

It was generally feared he had met with ill measure, and there wanted not suspicion of poison; but, upon the opening of him, the next day toward night, there was

¹ Mayerne.

² What success could have been expected from such ridiculous remedies?

nothing found.¹ His heart was found good, his stomach clean, his liver a little perished, his lungs somewhat more, and spotted; his gall was clean gone, and nothing in it; his spleen very black, his head full of clear water, and all the veins of the head full of clotted blood. Wherein Butler had the advantage, who maintained that his head would be found full of water, and Turquet that his brains would be found overflowed, and, as it were, drowned in blood. In his extremity, they tried all manner of conclusions upon him, as letting him blood in the nose, and whatsoever else they could imagine; and, at the last cast, gave him a quintessence sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, which, he says, they should have applied sooner, that brought him to some sort of sense, and opening his eyes, and some will needs say, speech, but all failed again presently.

Amongst the rest he² hath lost his greatest hope, and was grown into special confidence with him, insomuch that he had moved the king divers times for him, and had, lastly, a grant that he should be delivered out of the Tower before Christmas.

There is great deliberation among his followers, and many of them exceedingly disappointed. I hear his debts shall be presently paid, for all the creditors are willed to bring in their bills and accounts, and some pensions he had lately given to divers of his servants are said shall continue. His funeral shall be kept the 7th of next month. His revenue was near three score thousand pounds a-year, which returneth to the crown, till the young prince³ be of more years. But the Duchy of Cornwall shall not come to him at all, as the lawyers say, by a quirk of law, that it is only entailed *primogenito regis*, and so was adjudged

¹ There is nothing conclusive in this: for, in the first place, there were poisons which left no trace of their presence; and, in the next, if the effects of poison had been visible, the physicians would have been afraid to say so. The unusual course of having a *post mortem* examination of the prince shows that the suspicion of foul play must have been very strong at that time; and the more the matter has been looked into since, the more decided has been this impression. Indeed, more than one writer has ventured to assert, that the atrocious crime was perpetrated with the connivance of the king, whose notorious jealousy of the popular young prince at this period, and foolish fondness for his younger brother Charles, induced a wretch well known to have been guilty of similar practices—the king's favourite, Viscount Rochester—to cause the prince to be secretly put out of the way.

² Sir Walter Raleigh.

³ Charles.

against Henry the Eighth, being then Duke of York, after the decease of his brother, Prince Arthur. It is observed, that this late prince never cast or shed his teeth from his infancy, which, when Butler heard some days since, he prophesied that he was not *vitalis* or long lived, and, though he be otherwise but a drunken sot, yet he hath a very shrewd judgment. The Wednesday before the prince's death, the king inquiring of him of his son's estate, and what opinion he had of him, he answered, after his dudgeon manner, with a verse of Virgil, the beginning whereof I have forgotten, but thus it ends—

“Et plurima mortis imago.”

The Archbishop of Canterbury was twice or thrice with the prince, and dealt with him like a grave and religious churchman, while he was in memory, and afterwards both prayed by him himself, and caused others to continue in prayer, while there was life. The king, when he saw no hope left, went away, on Friday morning, to Theobalds, and the queen removed the same day to Somerset House. His death was exceeding grievous to them both, but especially to the king, who takes it with great impatience, and yet, somewhat to comfort him, there is an observation made, that he is the seventh prince since the conquest that had been taken from us at man's estate.

The king, on Monday, came from Theobalds to Kensington to Sir Walter Cope's, whither the next morning the young prince,¹ the Lady Elizabeth, and the Palsgrave, went all together in one coach to him, and that afternoon all the council. But what was said or done, I cannot yet learn, because I went out yesterday early in the morning, and came not home till late at night.

The Lady Elizabeth is much afflicted with this loss, and not without good cause, for he did extraordinarily affect her, and, during his sickness, inquired still after her; and the last words he spoke in good sense, they say, were, “*Where is my dear sister?*” She was as desirous to visit him, and went once or twice in the evening disguised for that purpose, but could not be admitted, because his

¹ Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I.

disease was doubted to be contagious. He meant to have conducted her on her way to Germany, to the uttermost bounds of the States' dominions, which purpose he kept very secret, and it is come abroad but since his death.¹

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Padua, November 16, 1612.

* * * * Here being small variety, unless I should relate unto you the skirmishes of our scholars, who continue, after their old manner, to maintain their arguments with arquebusses; and we had a young gentleman of Venice slain upon the Piazza the last week.

Candido's great friend, the Procurato Mocenigo, is gone after, whilst he stood in expectation to succeed this duke. The Cavalier Nuni is chosen in his place of procurator.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 19, 1612.

Mr. Wake² was with me on Tuesday, and delivered me your letter of the 1st of October. He conferred with me about the delivery of his packet, wherein I could give him little advice, for I am a mere stranger to the court and court business, more than by hearsay, which is as uncertain and various as often as the various humours and affections of the parties I meet with. And though we be weary with waiting, yet we look now shortly for some resolution by reason the greatest differences in court are compounded very lately, and the rumours from abroad do somewhat quicken, and make our fatal security, but specially the prince's death, hath taken away the means of helping ourselves by his marriage, and stopping the gap of our wants for the present by that way; so that, of necessity, we must have recourse to a parliament, whereof there is speech already for February. These considerations put

¹ The life of this gallant young prince has been written by Dr. Birch. See his "Life of Henry Prince of Wales, eldest son of King James I. Compiled chiefly from his own papers and other manuscripts," 1760; and also, though much less at length, by the prince's treasurer, Sir Charles Cornwallis.

² Isaac Wake, afterwards knight, and ambassador at several courts.

us daily into expectation of alterations and removes, and the candidates for every place ply their canvass, and will not *demordre*, specially Sir Thomas Lake and Sir Francis Bacon; and the friends of the former are so confident, that they offer ten to one of that, whereof, if I must needs lay, I should choose the contrary.

The king was quickly weary of Kensington, because he said the wind blew thorough the walls that he could not lie warm in his bed. He came to Whitehall yesterday was sevensnight, and went away on Tuesday last to Theobalds, and is this day for Royston. He carried the Count Palatine along with him, whose marriage, by this late accident, is retarded, because it would be thought absurd that foreign ambassadors, coming to condole the prince's death, should find us feasting and dancing; so that it is deferred till May-day, and the mourning for the prince to continue till the 24th of March, but the fiancing is appointed the 27th of December, and his counsellors hope and do their best to advance the marriage soon after. But the king is earnest to him to send away his train, saving some five and twenty.

The prince's debts are but £9000, and his moveables amount to much more, specially his horses and pictures, which are many and rare, and his medals, or ancient coins of gold, will yield above £3000. His papers showed him to have many strange and vast conceits and projects.

The same day sevensnight he died, there fell out a very ridiculous accident. A very handsome young fellow, much about his age, and not altogether unlike him, came stark naked to St. James's, while they were at supper, saying he was the prince's ghost, come from heaven with a message to the king; but, by no manner of examination, could they get no more out of him, or who set him to work. Some say he is simple; others, mad. He belongs to one of the Chancery. All the penance they gave him was two or three lashes, which he endured, as it seemed, without sense, and keeping him naked as he was all night and the next day in the porter's lodge, where thousands came to see him. The king sent to have him dismissed, without more ado or inquiry.

One Bayly,¹ a chaplain belonging to the prince, preached on Sunday last, at St. Martin's, near Charing Cross, that the prince told him, not a month before he died, that Religion lay a bleeding; "and no marvel," said he, "when divers councillors hear mass in the morning, and then go to a court sermon, and so to the council, and then tell their wives what passes, and they carry it to their Jesuits and confessors," with other like stuff; for which he was called before my Lord of Canterbury the next day, and, I hear, silenced.

The king, on Sunday, made a profession to the court, of his constancy in religion, and how little was agreed should be allowed the daughters of Savoy that way, if the match had gone forward. The agents of Savoy took their leave at his going to Theobalds, and the Banquier Gabellione was knighted.

On Friday, Sir Harry Row, our alderman, died; and, same morning, Sir George Carey,² master of the wards, of this new disease. I hear he died in reasonable case, worth £10,000 one way and other. Among many suitors for the place, as Sir Thomas Lake, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir George More, Sir Charles Cornwallis,³ Sir Roger Wilbraham,⁴ Sir James Leigh, and some others, I heard for certain yesterday that Sir Walter Cope has gotten the grant of it. I have it from one that heard himself speak it on Tuesday to the Earl of Salisbury. If it fall out so, I shall marvel at the luck of the thing; and if the two tall treasurers could look out of their graves to see these successors in that place, I think they would be out of countenance with themselves, and say to the world, *quantum mutatus!*

¹ Lewis Bayly, made Bishop of Bangor in 1606, author of "The Practice of Piety," which he dedicated to the prince. His youngest son was chaplain to the Marquis of Worcester, and wrote two or three curious works. "Certamen Religiosum; or a Conference between King Charles and Henry, late Marquis of Worcester, concerning Religion, in Ragland Castle." Anno 1646. "The Royal Charter granted unto Kings;" and "Herba Parietis, or the Wallflower, as it grows out of the stone chamber belonging to the Metropolitan Prison"—Newgate, of which he was then an inmate. He died in 1659.

² Probably George, third son of Henry Carey, fourth Baron Hunsdon.

³ He had been treasurer to Prince Henry, and was sent by James as ambassador to the court of Spain.

⁴ He had been solicitor-general in Ireland, and master of the Court of Requests. He died in 1616.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, November 20, 1612.

I have received by these two last ordinaries, two letters from you, the one of the 15th, the other of the 22nd October, both treating of great marriages, but the latter much more to my mind than the former; and the hope is that *generatio unius* will be *corruptio alterius*. Touching my own particular, I know not whom to believe, Fabritio or the other; but I am content to flatter myself, and to think that young Fabritio believes the counsellor. Sir Ralph Winwood writes me an advertisement, which doth somewhat startle me. "By a letter, of the 24th of this month, out of England, I am given to understand that to facilitate your revocation from the place where you are, which you desire to procure upon hope of succession to this place, you make instance to have one that is now about you to be your adjoint, in quality of an agent, giving to understand (for that construction is made of it), that that place may be supplied by the service of an agent, without the charge or quality of an ambassador." I know not out of whose shop should come this *parlerie*, unless my good old friend, Fabritio, will never leave his old trade of being *fabler*, or, as the Devil is, father of lies. For, first, to no man living, save yourself and Sir Ralph Winwood, did I ever advertise so much as a consent to change my employment to his, if I had the condition offered me. Then, though I wish well to some about me (as they well deserve), yet you know well where *bene ordinata caritas* hath his beginning, and I might be thought to have an ill-ordered and a very unsettled brain, if I would seek to lodge one in my nest before I remember where I should bestow myself. But, if this be the colour for any course or resolution taken about me, I must have patience, and I know not how to have it. Mean time, I go on with my old wont, both in public and private, with so little alteration, that, as you have always known me, so you may now judge of me. I pray you learn what you can of this matter, and spare not to let me know the worst as well as the best; I am well prepared, though not too well provided.

My Lord of Arundel¹ is set forward towards England, through France, well amended for his health by the means of his physic at Padua. Nicholas Fitzherbert,² who hath been for so many years together a lieger in Rome, being to pass a water betwixt Florence and Sienna, fell from his horse for fear, and was there drowned about three weeks or a month since. Let me tell you, for your comfort (for I imagine what is mine is yours), that my last news from the left island, which was much about the time that you [met] with the good news of me, took knowledge of my vigilancy and diligency, and since I have neither stopped nor been idle.

** Richard Earl of Dorset to Sir Thomas Edmondess.*

Dorset House, November 23, 1612.

I received lately your lordship's letter, dated the 5th of November, for which I give your lordship many thanks, though, in requital of your news, I have none to write from hence but such as I believe you shall have intelligence of before this my letter shall come to you. For to tell you that our rising sun³ is set ere scarcely he had shone, and that with him all our glory lies buried, you know and lament as well as we, and better than some do, and more truly, or else you were not a man, and sensible of this kingdom's loss.

The great offices here stay, and we expect what will be the event. Only this is certain, that P. [Pembroke] and R. [Rochester] were reconciled a day or two before the king's now last going to Royston; and after he had been one night at Theobalds the warrant was signed here to make Sir Walter Cope master of the wards, who, I hope, did not pay so dear for it as his predecessor Cary, by £3000. For if he did, and live no longer, he will have but a hard bargain of it.

Of late, there is one Bayly, one of the prince's chaplains,

¹ Thomas, restored to his father's forfeited title in 1603. He died in 1646.

² There was a Nicholas Fitzherbert, who was secretary to Cardinal Allen. He was third son of John, second son of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, the judge of the Common Pleas, who wrote the celebrated work, "De Natura Brevium."

³ Prince Henry.

called before the council for a sermon preached by him lately, wherein he should say, as is reported, that there were some of the council that would hear a mass in the morning, be present at noon with the king at an English sermon, sit in council all the afternoon, and at night tell unto their wives all that had past; who, being papists, would relate all again to their confessors, and they send it into France, Spain, and Italy. And there are some here got so honest and so good patriots, as they think a thing not fit that men should be punished for speaking of a truth.

My Lady Bedford last night, about one of the clock, was suddenly, and hath continued ever since, speechless, and is past all hopes, though yet alive: and even now my wife¹ is gone to see her, who desires to be remembered in all love to your lady, and excused for this time because she writes not to her, she is so full of sorrow and so unfit.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, November 27, 1612.

I had this week only a single from my brother Williams out of England; but from the Hague I understood from Sir R. Winwood how my secretary was passed by him, and how he had given him good instructions how to govern himself in that business whereof I advertised you the 20th of this month, which was by the last ordinary, wherein I will not mistrust his honest dealing, though to have his interest in the matter. For, upon better consideration, I guess this plot of good husbandry to be as likely framed by his good friend, Sir Tho. Lake, as by any else, without meaning me any hurt; for I account him likewise my friend; and it may be he thinks so to draw me home by any device, he may do me a pleasure; and if the course be enlarged by his majesty, I shall accommodate myself to it the best I can; but yet I would be loth to have a *croc-en-jambe* in this first employment, which would be my disgrace for ever. And therefore, I pray you talk with my father Saville and Sir Henry Neville, if you can

¹ Anne, daughter and heir of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

meet with both, or either of them, and wish them to provide that their good wills be [not] turned to my prejudice.

I have no news since my last, neither am I in tune to write, if I had any, being much distracted, as you will imagine, with the heavy news out of England,¹ which came hither by an extraordinary estaffette from Foscarini on Saturday last, which was the 21st of this present, and is a thing as much lamented by this state, as if it were their own life. They sent unto me upon this occasion two principal senators, with a secretary, both of the same quality as those they sent to the French ambassador upon the death of the late king; whereas to the Spanish, for the Queen of Spain, they sent a secretary only.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, December 14, 1612.

Sir Thomas Glover, who come hither on his way towards England, and had appeared one day like a comet, all in crimson velvet and beaten gold, and expected as much feasting and entertainment, *cum multis aliis*, as he found by the Spanish viceroy in Sicily and Naples, had all his marred on a sudden, (by the news of Prince Henry's death) and retired himself to Leghorn to ship himself for Marseilles. Sir Robert Dudley² entertained no small hopes of returning into England by means of the prince's favour, and to be employed in some special charge about the king's navy. There was a royal present now prepared by the grand duke to be sent the prince, which was the twelve labours of Hercules in [figures] of brass, set upon so many pillars of ebony, and three goodly coursers of Naples; which would have so well suited with the greatness of his spirit and exercises, wherein he took most delight, but it seems they were not to seek what would be most acceptable.

¹ The death of Prince Henry.

² Son of the Earl of Leicester, by Lady Douglas Sheffield. He was then in exile, and outlawed; but was living in much state and favour at Florence, and had a numerous family, by the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, whom he had seduced and carried off, though he had a wife living. To this lady he had been married by a dispensation from the Pope.

If what I have written to you in my two last letters touching my own particular, being upon the first heat an unexpected news, be not necessary to be participated to other friends, (which you will judge as you see occasion) I shall be content all may rest with yourself. Touching Fabritio, the devil bought him a * * * and now he hath paid him;¹ but he hath had the good fortune to overcome greater matters, and so I believe he will do this.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 17, 1612.

The next day after the term Sir Richard Cocks and five others were fined in the Star Chamber,² some at 3000 marks, others at 1000, and the last at 500, for reporting a hearing somewhat concerning the lord privy seal,³ who there made a long speech in his own purgation. But, howsoever, these fines be executed, and (as most men believe they will not, but that only it was done *in terrorem*) yet the precedent is thought strange, and the lord hath got no great advantage, but only this, that men must learn not to speak of great ones, *ni en bien, ni en mal*.

Bayly, the prince's chaplain, that made the suspicious sermon at St. Martin's, was enjoined by the council to explain himself in the same place, which he did the Sunday following, and that so soundly, that in a very great audience he made the matter much more than plain, relating the whole matter as it passed at the council-table, with justifying, offering to make proof, or bring his authors for what he said. Divers other preachers have been busy in the same kind, and how it comes to pass, or upon what grounds, I know not, but they take the alarm, and begin to speak freely, or at least so feelingly, that they make themselves

¹ This seems to relate to Sir H. Wotton's inscription in an album, already given at p. 201, which so offended King James; who, smarting under the castigation of Caspar Schopp, commonly called by his Latinized name, Schoppius, was in no humour for indifferent jokes, either in Latin or English.

² This was another way of endeavouring to replenish the exhausted exchequer, which at last, however, became an intolerable abuse—every one in any discredit at court being fined, that was believed to be possessed of money.

³ The Earl of Northampton.

understood, though they keep within compass; so that I perceive it is not good to meddle with these pulpit hornets, as our doctor was wont to call them.

The same day¹ the prince's funeral was kept here, there was a solemn obsequy for him at Oxford, with a sermon, and a funeral oration after it, at St. Mary's, and the like in the afternoon at Christchurch, both which places were hanged and furnished with blacks; and they have set a book of Latin elegies and funeral verses. Our Cambridge men are nothing so forward nor officious. Only I hear of some verses are set out or given to some few, but not publicly sold. But they are now very busy in preparing exercises and plays against the Palsgrave's coming, who is expected there soon after Christmas.

The Lord Lisle hath lost his eldest son, Sir William Sidney, by the smallpox, which were well come out, and yet he went away on the sudden, and he hath now but one son left. Old Sir Thomas Sherley, Will Stafford, and Sir John, (or Ajax) Harrington,² are dead lately. Mr. Rossingham came some three weeks since out of Spain, so Spanishified, that I scant knew him till he saluted me. I hear the chief cause of his return was the death of his wife. Mr. Trumball, as I understand, is to come over presently, and shall be sworn clerk of the council.

The king came from Royston to Theobalds on Tuesday, and is expected here about the end of this week, or the beginning of the next week. We look now daily for the naming of the officers. Sir H. N.³ never was nearer the mark, which if he hit not now, I will believe no more secret assurances. Sir Henry Saville comes to town to-morrow, or next day, to Sir Edward Hoby's house, in the Black Friars, and there to keep Christmas, and tarry the most part of this winter, which hath been hitherto so wet and warm as I never knew the like.

Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new essays, where, in a chapter of *Deformity*, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin⁴ to the life. Sir Henry Wotton

¹ Monday, December 7.

³ Sir Henry Neville.

² The translator of Ariosto.

⁴ The Earl of Salisbury.

hath printed a sheet of paper for an apology in the matter objected to him by Schoppius, and dedicated it to Velser, of Augusta. I have been promised a sight of it once or twice, but cannot yet light upon it.

There was a priest, one Latham, or Molyneux, hanged at Tyburn some ten days since, who died very confidently, or rather, indeed, desperately, in such a cause. The matter is not well handled, in mine opinion, to suffer them to brave and talk so liberally at their execution.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, December 31, 1612.

To the many funerals which you reckon up of princes and great personages in so short space, you may add the Duke of Mantua,¹ who died of the smallpox about three weeks since, of which he buried his only son not full three weeks before, and in that family, within the space of fourteen months, were five others buried,—the father, this last duke, the mother, a bastard brother, a daughter, and a base child. The Cardinal Gonzaga is already entered into possession of the duchy of Mantua, but [I know not] whether he shall enjoy Monferrat, which is inheritable by women, and this duke hath left a daughter.

We have had here two [new] laws published lately, the one against ambassadors, the other against arquebusses. The first forbids that no Venetian gentleman whatsoever shall frequent any ambassadors; which restraint was wont to be only for those who had entrance in Pregadi. The second inflicts grievous penalties upon any that shall be found with a piece; and hither we have heard of no mischance this winter, which you know was wont to succeed daily.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 31, 1612.

Upon the receipt of your letter of the 27th of the last, I made an errand to Sir Henry Saville, who with his lady and their whole household lies in the Black Friars, and

¹ The duke was not full twenty-four years old, his son not three.

acquainted him with the sum of what you had written in your two last, touching some trick that might be put upon you by occasion of your friends with desire to have you nearer, and some conceit, grown you know not how, that you mislike the place where you are. He made light of it, and would have you do likewise, and not to apprehend and cast doubts where there is no danger. For mine own part, I was much of the opinion before, and am now thoroughly confirmed by his approbation, for I never heard the least inkling of any such meaning towards you. Indeed I come not near court nor council, where many things are done and in doing that come not within my kenning; yet for aught I could perceive there is no probability for any such course. Mr. Wake courts it daily, and methinks should smell it out if there were any such matter. He was yesterday to take a journey into the country for eight or ten days to visit his friends, if the foul weather did not hinder him. Some business he hath that belike finds slow despatch, so that he cannot make that haste back that at first he pretended. But sure I am deceived if he do not, or may do you as good service here, the times standing as they do, as if he were with you, and therefore I persuade him to tarry some time and take leisure. I put him and your brother Williams in mind this last day to make demand of your allowance for your mourning. I found that Sir Thomas Edmondes and Sir Ralph Winwood were in hand withal and obtained, though their bills were not rated; but I make account they shall get £100 at least.

These holidays have brought forth no new officers, yet their hopes stretch out from day to day, but I am tired with expectation, that I have quite given them over, the rather for that I hear the commission for the treasury is renewed, which was made at first but for six months. Yet Sir Thomas Lake, on Sunday last, outstripped his competitors by one, by reading the contract betwixt the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, which is the part of a principal secretary, *præire conceptis verbis*, in such solemn business. But they say he had translated the words of our Communion Book into French so badly, and pro-

nounced them worse, that it moved an unseasonable laughter, as well in the contractors as standers-by, which was soon silenced by the archbishop's grave interposing himself, and with an audible voice using these very words, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, bless these nuptials, and make them prosperous to these kingdoms and to His Church." I hear the Scots take no great joy in this match; but ever since the death of the late prince have wished and provided that she should be bestowed on their Marquis Hamilton, so that they might have been sure of us every way. This affiancing was solemnized in the great banquetting-room on Sunday before dinner, in the presence of the king and great store of nobility; but the queen was absent, being troubled, as they say, with the gout. The king was not out of his chamber in three or four days before, nor since, having a spice of the same disease, and yet the last week upon his bed he gave hearing to a controversy betwixt the farmers of the customs and the lord mayor, who was there present, and accused them of defrauding the king of more than £70,000 a-year. But upon ripping up the matter, they went away acquitted, and he commended for his good meaning to the king's service.

We have many bankrupts daily, and as many protections, which doth marvellously hinder all manner of commerce.

The prince's household is to be discharged this day, and his servants are to begin and seek a new fortune.

Here is an extraordinary ambassador come from Louvaine to condole, and, as is thought, to offer some match for the young prince.¹ He had audience on Monday, and is a very proper, comely man, being bastard, they say, to the Cardinal of Guise that was strangled at Blois, and in special favour, or, as they term him, the Lerma to the Duke of Louvaine.

The Lady Webbe² lying here sick of the smallpox, and past all danger to everybody's thinking, being exceedingly well attended, and having her physician continually about her, on

¹ Prince Charles.

² Anne, daughter of Sir Rowland Lytton, married to Sir William Webbe.

Christmas-eve late at night began to change, and died the next morning between three and four o'clock, and according to her desire was sent to Knebworth on Monday and there buried. She was grown a very proper woman, but loved this town too well, which in a short time would have drawn her and her husband dry, as well in purse as in reputation. For though I held her and assure myself that she was honest and virtuous, yet some courses and company she kept began to breed speech, so that all things considered, her friends have the less cause to lament her loss less, especially as she made a good and godly end, and did so far foresee the misery that long life might have brought her to, that she went away willingly.

Sir Rowland Lytton, at his going out of town, left this enclosed letter with me to be sent by Mr. Wake, whose going being so uncertain, I thought better to send it now, that you may have the more time to advise upon the answer. He told me often that his meaning is not to be chargeable to you; but that his son might be in your house, and that you would a little train him and fashion him to business. For I perceive he means to make him a statesman, and is very well persuaded of him, as likewise he is of all the rest, like a very indulgent father. You may take time enough for the answer; for he is not to look towards you till the next autumn. If you can do it conveniently, it will be a favour; but I know what a business it is to have the breaking of such colts, and therefore will urge no more than may be to your liking.¹

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 7, 1612-13.

Our Christmas is now come to an end without any the least show of any alteration in court or elsewhere, and to-morrow the king moves towards Royston. The council have dealt with him to name new officers, especially secre-

¹ This son of Sir Rowland was Sir William Lytton, M.P. for Hertfordshire, who became one of the leaders in the movement against the abuses of Charles the First's government, and was included by parliament in the commission to treat with the king at Oxford; upon subsequently opposing Cromwell, when he in his turn began to play the king, he suffered a brief imprisonment.

taries, or one at least whomsoever he should please, for that the state of affairs requires it, and suffers much for the want of a sufficient man that might ease his majesty in some part of the care and pain of that place. The king took their advice in good part, and doth acknowledge as much as they say, with promise that he will think upon it and resolve in good time. So that we are now come to our discourses again, and the chief candidate as forward in their hopes as at any time before. The king is thought to have no great mind of himself to Sir H. N.,¹ so that, if the importunity of his great patron prevails, it shall be as it were *invitâ Minervâ*, and to counterpoise the balance and content the counterpart. Sir T. L.² must be admitted, or rather, as it is now held, Sir Thomas Edm., who, besides his friends here at home, hath the Duke of Bouillon an earnest solicitor in his behalf. It is verily held, and many signs there be of it, that the king's inclination holds firm for our friend at the Hague, and till I see somebody else in possession, I cannot believe otherwise. For if words and promises be aught worth, and kissing of the hand instead of clapping be part of assurance to make up a bargain, he is in good case, and cannot miss. But this is a secret, and must be sealed up to yourself.

The world is of opinion that the Lord of Rochester is slow every way, as well for himself as his friends, else he would ere this have compassed and concluded for the main place he shoots at. But perhaps he undertakes too much, and hath too many irons in the fire at once. He is now in hand for the reversion of Lord Darcy's³ land, which after his death is to return to the crown, for want of heirs male, according to the first grant.

We hear that these late great winds and rains have overthrown Dover pier, and quite defaced those works and fortifications against the sea wherein there hath been bestowed so much time and cost.

Here is a gentleman come from the Duke of Guise, and another from the Prince of Conti, to condole the prince's death. His household is broken up, and the inventory of

¹ Sir Henry Neville.

² Thomas Lake.

³ John, third Lord Darcy, of Aston. He died in 1635.

his goods brought in far beyond his debts. The account of his yearly revenue riseth to £57,000.

I have heard an uncertain report that Sir Matthew Cary is like to lose and be cozened of eight or nine thousand pounds in a purchase of Sir William Bond, in whose honesty and credit he put great confidence. But I hope it cannot fall out altogether so ill, being discovered so soon, and he so well befriended in the Court of Conscience.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, January 22, 1612-13.

Touching my advertisement from the Hague, I should think (as you do) that it might be some woman's work, but that I conceive I should not have so hot an alarm given me by so sure a sentinel upon so slight a discovery. Howsoever, I am not curious to search into the original as long as the effect turn not to my prejudice.

My Lord Bodwell¹ died here (at Naples) lately, and was buried with much ceremony at the cost of the viceroy. I am certainly informed that he took his bed within three or four days after his [Prince Henry's] death upon our heavy news out of England, he having fancied to himself some hopes, by our late prince's mediation, of being restored to his majesty's favour.

Here is another act published against the poor, who, being banished the Canal Grande, had helpen themselves with the left palaces they could light on in other quarters, which, being judged as great an inconvenience, they are now forbidden to remain in any house, or take any now above the rent of 100 ducats. There is likewise another placard against excess in feasting; wherein the cooks and other officers are bound to appear within the space of three days after any great dinner or supper, and tell the magistrate openly in court what good cheer every man had at his table. One other public act I cannot omit, that whereas

¹ Francis Stewart, created Earl of Bothwell by James, for conspiring against whom he was obliged to fly into France, thence into Spain, and finally into Italy.

in former times, and for long continuance, every notary did subscribe *Publicus Imperiali Veneatque autoritate notarius*, they have now commandment to leave out *Imperiali*, which is thought to proceed of a book lately published by some Jesuit (as is imagined) which is called *Squitinto della Liberta Veneta*, and therein much pains taken, and indeed good learning showed, to prove an ancient subjection of this state to the emperor.

Sir Stephen le Sieur hath had his first audience at Vienna, and (as he writes) much to the emperor's satisfaction, there having been no ambassador resident for England since Charles the Fifth.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, February 4, 1612-13.

Touching my own affairs here * * * the bruit was raised but as a mist, which was cast before my eyes, and so let it pass. Mr. Wake¹ hath done his part in that which belonged unto me, and I find the effects. I write not unto him, because I conceive he will be come away, but if any accident stay him until this be with you, I pray you let him know I have had all his letters, and well I rest satisfied of his endeavours.

To bring you hither, you may remember where I left our old procurator Moro, who hath [remained] still bed-ridden, and often cozened the Broglio, about a fortnight since, the speech being gone, he was speechless, and the *Prætendato* very hasty upon St. Marc's, of a sudden he called for a barber to trim him, and so shaved him once more. Dando, who missed the three last elections, is chosen in his place.

We have had here in this time all this carnival so few mischiefs and disorders, that it is apparent those scandalous accidents which were wont to happen, to the disgrace of this government, were not so impossible to be remedied as were always held.

¹ Carleton's secretary.

*John Chamberlain, Esq., to Mrs. Alice Carleton.*¹

London, February 4, 1612-13.

Yesterday there was a great meeting at Sir H. Saville's, about the conclusion of a match for Mrs. Elizabeth with the only son of Sir W. Ridley of Kent, that married the Lady Abergavenny. Sir Henry Neville was there and Sir John Levison, but what passed I have not yet heard.

The Lady Hadingdon was forward with child, and miscarried the last week. About this day sevensnight the Countess of Salisbury² was brought a-bed of a daughter, and lies in very richly, for the hangings of her chamber being white satin, embroidered with gold (or silver) and pearl, is valued at fourteen thousand pounds.

The Prince Palatine feasted all the council the last week, and carried himself with great commendation, but specially he respected the archbishop and his followers above all the rest as having received only at his hands entertainment and kind usage since his coming into England. On Sunday last and on Candlemas-day he and his lady were solemnly asked openly in the chapel by the Bishop of Bath and Wells,³ and the next Sunday is the last time of asking.

There is extraordinary preparations for fireworks and fights upon the water, with three castles, built upon eight western barges, and one great castle upon the land, over against the court. One or two of the pinnaces are come already from Rochester; and divers other vessels, to the number of six and thirty, are provided, some like galleys, some galleasses, and some like carracks, and other ships of war; and above 500 watermen, already pressed, and 1000 musqueteers of the Trained Bands, in the shires hereabout, made ready for this service, which, in all computation, cannot stand the king in so little as £5000.

On Tuesday, I took occasion to go to court, because I had never seen the Palsgrave nor the Lady Elizabeth near hand for a long time. I had my full view of them both,

¹ Sister to Sir Dudley Carleton, and residing with him at Venice.

² Catherine, youngest daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

³ Dr. James Montagu.

but will not tell you all I think ; but only this, that he owes his mistress nothing, if he were a king's son, as she is a king's daughter. The worst is, methinks, he is much too young and small timbered to undertake such a task.

The Count Maurice, at the receiving of the Garter in the Low Countries, showed himself very bountiful, and gave great rewards to the king of heralds, and his followers, as perhaps your brother may understand from Sir Ralph Winwood, though it may be he will not certify that himself had a cup of gold for a present, worth £500. He hath been very fortunate for such windfalls, though he hath no great fortune from Sir Thomas Bodley, where there was more reason to expect it ; for dying in his house, which he bought of him above a year since, he hath left him little or nothing but his old armoury, that he could not tell well what else to do withal, and is no way worth twenty marks. He died on Thursday last, between four and five in the afternoon, having been speechless, and without knowing anybody, almost thirty hours. His executors are Sir John Bennet and Mr. Hakewell, a young lawyer, Sir Ralph Winwood, and Sir Henry Saville, his overseers, and supervisors over them, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Lord Coke, to each of these last bequeathing a cup of gold, of the value of £50 ; whereas to his brothers,¹ and to his brothers' sons, who are his heirs, and must hold up his house and name, scant any thing. To Mr. Gent and Tom Allen, like a couple of almsmen, he hath left his best and second gown, and his best and second cloak. But to cast a colour or shadow of somewhat upon Mr. Gent, he makes a clause that he forgives him all he owed him, which Mr. Gent protests to be never a penny, and hath much ado to withhold from blazing how much and many ways he was beholding to him in former times, and indeed indebted ; but howsoever it be, his being so obsequious and servile to him so long a time, deserved a better recompense and reward. But his servants grumble and murmur most, with whom he hath dealt very mechanically, some of them

¹ Laurence Bodley, canon residentiary of Exeter, and Sir Josias Bodley, who had been an officer in the wars in Ireland.

having served him and her very painfully above two and twenty years, others sixteen, others fourteen, and the best not reaping, after so long expectation, above twenty pounds, the rest ten, and those not past two or three neither. He makes no mention of any friend he had, not so much as of mourning garment; nor will not allow it his servants, unless they shall go to his funeral at Oxford to fetch it; but let good-nature go, if he had any regard of conscience towards his wife's¹ children, by whom he had all his wealth. But, in truth, he hath dealt hardly with one of them, who hath many children, and is in need and distress, and by his means, the story whereof is too long for a letter, and all this for a vainglory and show of good deeds, for he hath given about £7000 to his library at Oxford, and £200 to Merton College, besides mourning to all the students of that house, from the highest to the lowest. This, and such like, makes me know and esteem the world, such as it is, nothing but vanity, and in that meditation I will leave and commit you to God.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Mrs. Carleton.

London, February 18, 1612-13.

Though Mr. Wake be now coming, and looks for his despatch within a day or two, who is able to make a large discourse of all that passed at this wedding;² yet because this is like to arrive there before him, I will give you a little touch or taste of that, whereof you may receive from him full and complete satisfaction.

On Thursday night the fireworks were reasonably well performed, all save the last castle of fire, which bred most expectation, and had most devices, but when it came to execution had worst success. On Saturday, likewise, the fight upon the water came short of that show and brags had been made of it; but they pretend the best to be behind, and left for another day, which was the winning of the castle on land. But the king and all the company

¹ Anne, daughter of Mr. Carew, of Bristol, widow of Mr. Ball. She was married to Sir Thomas Bodley about the year 1585.

² The marriage of the king's daughter, Elizabeth, to Frederic, Count Palatine of the Rhine, which took place on the 14th of February.

took so little delight to see no other activity but shooting and putting of guns, that it is quite given over, and the navy unrigged, and the castle pulled down, the rather for that there were divers hurt in the former fight, as one lost both his eyes, another both his hands, another one hand, with divers others maimed and hurt, so that to avoid further harm it was thought best to let it alone; and this is the conclusion of all the preparation, with so much expense of powder and money, which amounted to no less than £9000.

On Sunday, I was fetched from Paul's, where I was set at the sermon, to see the bride go to church; and though it were past ten o'clock before we came there, yet we found a noble window reserved in the Jewel House, which was over against her coming down. A pair of stairs set off the gallery in the preaching place to a long stage or gallery, made along the court into the hall, so that we had as much view as a short passage could give; but the excess of bravery, and the continual succession of new company, did so dazzle me, that I could not observe the tenth part of that I wished. The bridegroom and bride were both in a suit of cloth of silver, richly embroidered with silver, her train carried up by thirteen young ladies, or lords' daughters, at least, besides five or six more that could not come near it. These were all in the same livery with the bride, though not so rich. The bride was married in her hair, that hung down long, with an exceeding rich coronet on her head, which the king valued the next day at a million of crowns. Her two bridemen were the young prince¹ and the Earl of Northampton. The king and queen both followed, the queen all in white, but not very rich, saving in jewels. The king, methought, was somewhat strangely attired in a cap and feather, with a Spanish cape and a long stocking. The chapel was very straitly kept, none suffered to enter under the degree of a baron, but the three lords chief justices. In the midst there was a handsome stage or scaffolding made on the one side, whereof sat the king, prince, Count Palatine, and Count Henry of Nassau. On the other side, the

¹ Charles, second son of King James.

queen, with the bride and one or two more. Upon this stage they were married by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishop of Bath and Wells,¹ who made the sermon. It was done all in English, and the Prince Palatine had learned as much as concerned his part reasonably perfectly. The French, Venetian, and States' ambassadors, dined that day with the bride. The Spanish ambassador was sick, and the archduke's was invited for the next day, but would not come.

That night was the lord's masque, whereof I hear no great commendation, save only for riches, their devices being long and tedious, and more like a play than a masque. The next morning, the king went to visit these young turtles that were coupled on St. Valentine's day, and did strictly examine him whether he were a true son-in-law and was sufficiently assured. That afternoon, the king, prince, Count Palatine, with divers others, ran at the ring, and, when that was ended, and the king and prince gone, the Palsgrave mounted upon a high-bounding horse, which he managed so like a horseman, that he was exceedingly commended, and had many shouts and acclamations of the beholders; and, indeed, I never saw any of his age come near to him, in that exercise.

It were long and tedious to tell you all the particulars of the excessive bravery, both of men and women, but you may conceive the rest by one or two. The Lady Wotton² had a gown that cost fifty pounds a yard the embroidery. I hear, the Earl of Northumberland's daughter³ was very gallant, and the Lord Montacute, that hath paid reasonably well for recusancy, bestowed fifteen hundred pounds in apparel for his two daughters. The Viscount Rochester, the Lord Hay, and the Lord Dingwall, were exceeding rich and costly; but, above all, they speak of the Earl of Dorset. But this extreme cost and riches makes us all poor.

On Monday night, was the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn masque prepared in the hall at court, whereas the

¹ Dr. James Montagu.

² Hesther, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Puckering.

³ Henry Percy, K. G., ninth earl, then a prisoner in the Tower, had two daughters, Dorothy, wife of Robert Sydney, second Earl of Leicester, and Lucy, wife of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle.

lords was in the banqueting room. It went from the Rolls, all up Fleet Street and the Strand, and made such a gallant and glorious show, that it is highly commended. They had forty gentlemen of best choice out of both houses, and the twelve masquers, with their torch-bearers and pages, rode likewise upon horses exceedingly well trapped and furnished, besides a dozen little boys, dressed like baboons, that served for an anti-masque, and, they say, performed it exceedingly well when they came to it; and three open chariots, drawn with four horses apiece, that carried their musicians and other personages that had parts to speak. All which, together with their trumpeters and other attendants, were so well set out, that it is generally held for the best show that hath been seen many a day. The king stood in the gallery to behold them, and made them ride about the Tilt Yard, and then they were received into St. James's Park, and so out, all along the galleries, into the hall, where themselves and their devices, which they say were excellent, made such a glittering show, that the king and all the company were exceedingly pleased, and especially with their dancing, which was beyond all that hath been seen yet. The king made the masters kiss his hand on parting, and gave them many thanks, saying, he never saw so many proper men together, and himself accompanied them at the banquet, and took care it should be well ordered, and speaks much of them behind their backs, and strokes the master of the rolls¹ and Dick Martin, who were chief doers and undertakers.

On Tuesday, it came to Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple's turn to come with their masque, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was the chief contriver; and, because the former [masque] came on horseback and in open chariots, they made choice to come by water from Winchester Place, in Southwark, which suited well with their device, which was the marriage of the river of Thames to the Rhine; and their show by water was very gallant, by reason of infinite store of lights, very curiously set and placed, and many boats and barges, with devices of light and lamps, with three peals

¹ Sir Edward Philips.

of ordnance, one at their taking water, another in the Temple Garden, and the last at their landing; which passage by water cost them better than three hundred pounds. They were received at the Privy Stairs, and great expectation there was that they should every way excel their competitors that went before them; but in device, daintiness of apparel, and, above all, in dancing, wherein they are held excellent, and esteemed for the properer men.

But by what ill planet it fell out, I know not, they came home as they went, without doing anything; the reason whereof I cannot yet learn thoroughly, but only that the hall was so full that it was not possible to avoid it, or make room for them; besides that, most of the ladies were in the galleries to see them land, and could not get in. But the worst of all was, that the king was so wearied and sleepy, with sitting up almost two whole nights before, that he had no edge to it. Whereupon, Sir Francis Bacon adventured to entreat of his majesty that by this difference he would not, as it were, bury them quick; and I hear, the king should answer, that then they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer, but withal gave them very good words, and appointed them to come again on Saturday. But the grace of their masque is quite gone, when their apparel hath been already showed, and their devices vented, so that how it will fall out God knows, for they are much discouraged and out of countenance, and the world says it comes to pass after the old proverb, the properer man the worse luck.

One thing I had almost forgotten, that all this time there was a course taken, and so notified, that no lady or gentleman should be admitted to any of these sights with a vardingale, which was to gain the more room, and I hope may serve to make them quite left off in time. And yet there were more scaffolds, and more provision made for room than ever I saw, both in the hall and banqueting room, besides a new room built to dine and dance in.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 25, 1612-13.

The king went away on Monday to Theobalds, and so towards Royston and Newmarket, whence he is not expected till the 22nd of March. The prince and Count Palatine follow him this day, and mean the next week to visit Cambridge. And there is speech that before Easter-day they will make a progress to Oxford, which will be a good errand for the young married gentleman, whose friends and followers wish he might oftener have occasion to visit his uncle. All well-affected people take great pleasure and contentment in this match, as being a firm foundation and establishing of religion, which, upon what ground I know not, was before suspected to be *en branle*, and the Roman Catholics malign it as much as being the ruin of their hopes. The queen, likewise, is well come about, and graces it all she can, and seems to take special comfort in him.

Yesterday was the great christening of the Earl of Salisbury's daughter, in the chapel at court, whence the queen, Prince Palatine, Lady Elizabeth's highness, and all the company conveyed it home, and went by water to the banquet.

Our revels and triumphs within doors gave great contentment, being both dainty and curious in devices and sumptuous in show, specially the inns of court, whose two masques stood them in better than £4000, besides the gallantry and expense of private gentlemen that were but *ante ambulores*, and went only to accompany them. And our Gray's Inn men and the Inner Templars were nothing discouraged, for all the first dodge, but on Saturday last performed their parts exceeding well and with great applause and approbation, both from the king and all the company. The next night, the king invited the masquers, with their assistants, to the number of forty, to a solemn supper in the new marriage-room, where they were well treated and much graced with kissing her majesty's hand, and every one having a particular *accoglienza* from him. The king husbanded the matter so well that this feast was

not at his own cost, but he and his company won it upon a wager of running at the ring, of the prince and his nine followers, who paid £30 a man. The king, queen, prince, Palatine, and Lady Elizabeth sat at table by themselves, and the great lords and ladies, with the masquers, above four score in all, sat at another long table, so that there was no room for them that made the feast, but they were fain to be lookers-on, which the young Lady Rich¹ took no great pleasure in, to see her husband, who was one that paid, not so much as drink for his money.

The ambassadors that were at this wedding and shows, were the French, Venetian, Count Henry and Carew for the States. The Spaniard was or would be sick, and the archduke's ambassador being invited for the second day, made a sullen excuse; and those that were present were not altogether so well pleased but that I hear every one had some punctilio of disgust.

The Duke of Lennox, the Viscount Lisle, the Lord Zouch, and the Lord Harrington are in speech to be commissioners to go over with the Lady Elizabeth to see her and her jointure settled, and Livinus is named secretary for that service. I hear the Earl of Arundel is added to the number, who means to carry over his lady, and no doubt they will both make another voyage in Italy.

Till the very hour that the king went hence, men were still in suspense, and great expectation there was of new officers, and Sir H. N.'s² friends made full account of him from day to day. But, being now driven from that hold, they spin out their hopes till the Lady Elizabeth be passed the Low Countries, and then we shall see what will become of our good friend there, for whom one place is thought to be reserved. And, for my part, I think it most probable, but if we fail then, it shall be the last time of my looking for any such business.

We were much deceived likewise in our new creations of noblemen and knightings at these solemnities; for the king would not be drawn to it by any means, which hath marred the market, or rather raised the price to extra-

¹ Wife of Sir Henry Rich, and daughter of Sir Walter Cope.

² Sir Henry Neville's.

ordinary rate. Only the Deputy of Ireland¹ is made Lord Chichester, of Belfast, against the parliament that is to be held there in May.

This week, here died the Lady Mary Neville,² daughter of the late Treasurer Dorset, of a long, languishing sickness, and the Lady Conway,³ of the Brill, much after the same sort, as likewise Sir William Cooke's lady, of Charing Cross.

Sir Henry Saville showed me the last week his notes, taken in the reading of Sir Thomas Bodley's Life, written by himself,⁴ in seven sheets of paper, with vanity enough, wherein, omitting not the least *minutazzo* that might turn to his story, he doth not so much as make mention of his wife, nor that he was married, nor of Secretary Walsingham, nor the Earl of Leicester, who were all his main raisers. Whereby may be seen what mind he carried to his best benefactors.

There was an odd fray fell out the last week 'twixt one Hutchinson, of Gray's Inn, and Sir German Poole, who, assaulting the other upon advantage, hurt him in three or four places, and cut off three of his fingers, before he could draw his weapon. Whereupon, enraged, he flew upon him, and getting him down, he bit off a good piece of his nose, and carried it away in his pocket.

I had almost forgotten one accident at the last wedding, which was not then much noted, but is since much spoken of. Lyon, the Scottish king of heralds, being expressly sent for, had a rich coat of arms provided here, with the arms of Scotland before those of England, and wore it, as he said, by commandment, which is not much inquired into; but, howsoever, it is thought a strange affront, offered at such a time, in such a place, to such a people.

¹ Sir Arthur Chichester, made lord deputy in February, 1604.

² Wife of Sir Henry, eldest son of Lord Abergavenny.

³ Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Tracey of Lodington, and wife of Sir Edward Conway, governor of the Brill, afterwards secretary of state and Lord Conway.

⁴ Printed before "The Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley," published by Mr. Thomas Hearne, in 1703.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 11, 1612-13.

On Saturday last, I was with Sir Henry Saville, and found his lady had been very sick, and not without danger; but, in the opinion of the physicians and everybody else, saving herself, she was on the mending hand; and truly, by her voice and hearty manner of speaking, I could not judge otherwise, but still she told me she should never see Eton more. The day before, the Lord Lisle, not knowing of her sickness, invited himself thither to dinner; and, bringing his son with him, made a tender of him to Sir Harry for his daughter. But he told him he was so far engaged already with Sir William Sedley,¹ and all things so thoroughly concluded, that he could not go back. By which match the Lord Lisle is doubly disappointed, for he had destinated that young gentleman to his daughter, Philip.² Indeed, Sir Harry told me that, if he had been free, this offer might have shaken his obstinate resolution not to match with nobility; for Sir Robert Sidney is a very proper gentleman, and exceedingly well given every way, and his father's means augmented within this twelve-month about £2000 a-year. But, sure, young Sedley is like to prove in all likelihood a very good match, being an only child and of good education, and now they are in hand to send him over to travel with Mr. Brent,³ of Merton College, till some years may make them both more ripe for marriage. Sir Harry Saville would needs have one see two fine standing cups, with a basin or ewer, all gold, to the value of better than £50, that the Palsgrave sent him, in requital of his Chrysostom he presented him withal, besides £5 to his man that brought it.

We are now preparing for the Lady Elizabeth's departure. I am of opinion her train will not be so great by many degrees as was expected, for we devise all the means

¹ Of Aylesford, in Kent, Knight and Baronet, who, by his will, dated October 29, 1618, left £2000 to the University of Oxford for founding a lecture on Natural Philosophy.

² Philippa, born August 15, 1594, married to Sir John Hobart, eldest son of the Lord Chief-Justice Hobart, ancestor of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

³ Nathaniel, afterwards knighted.

we can to cut off expense, and not without cause, being come, *ad fundum*, and to the very lees of our best liquor. Else should not the Palsgrave's house have been so abruptly broken, and the most part of the company dissolved and sent away so suddenly after the king's going to Newmarket, which the Lady Elizabeth took very grievously and to heart; but necessity hath no law. The number and quality of her attendants varies every day. Some say the Lords go no further than Balherach, the first place upon the confines; and that Dr. Martin, the king's advocate, and Mr. Levinus, are the commissioners for settling and looking to the jointure. The time of her departure waits likewise in common report, being, they say, put off from the 8th of April till after St. George's day, that they may have fair, moonlight nights at sea. Burlamachi is appointed, and hath undertaken (I know not upon what conditions) to go the journey, and furnish them from place to place.

Upon Tuesday was sevensnight, the prince and the Palsgrave went from Newmarket to Cambridge, where, I hear, they had great entertainments, and had two very commendable acts in divinity and philosophy, besides two excellent comedies; but they marred them with length, and made them grow tedious, the one of them lasting between seven and eight hours.

During their being at Cambridge, the king escaped a great danger at Newmarket, by reason the foundation of the house where he lay began to sink on one side with great cracks, so that the doors and windows flew open, and they were fain to carry him out of his bed with all possible expedition; but the next day he removed to Thetford.

Here be great store of coiners apprehended in divers parts, which no doubt will multiply daily, now that the Lord Harrington, in recompense of £30,000 he saith he hath spent in attending the Lady Elizabeth, hath a suit granted of coining brass farthings. It is doubted to be but a shoeing-horn to draw on more of that metal to our Mint; and you might think we are brought to a low ebb, when the last week the archduke's ambassador was carried

to see the ancient goodly plate of the House of Burgundy pawned to Queen Elizabeth by the General States, and to know whether his princes would redeem it, for otherwise it was to be melted.

X The Lady Arabella hath been dangerously sick of convulsions, and is now said to be distracted; which, if it be so, comes well to pass for somebody whom they say she hath nearly touched.¹

Sir Thomas Glover hath so carried himself, that he is not only cleared, but in good esteem, and well thought of, and, as matters have fallen out since his coming away, they wish he had not been removed, or that he was there again; and the king hath a good conceit of him, and uses him graciously. Ingram² is leaving this town, where he hath bought the secretary's place of Sir Robert Cary for himself and his two sons, in reversion, for £6000.

Your friar, Giovan Battista, that is with the archbishop of York, hath published a Latin poem upon this late marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with the Palsgrave, and sent them to present to all his friends in these parts. The verses seem good, but the invention old and ordinary, and his epistle to the young couple is altogether built upon a fabulous, friarly tradition.

If Sir John Bennet's³ son be with you still, you must not hold him long, for here is a young lady lingers after him, and his father and she are in communication for a match, if it fall out right. It is Sir Roger Aston's widow that gives out his father makes offer to assure him £1900 a-year. Though I always thought him a rich man, yet never hear that; and besides, she is persuaded (upon what ground I know not) that at the next avoidance he is like to rise to the greatest place that can befall that profession. In the mean time, Tom Horton is an earnest suitor to her, and hath good access, insomuch that he daily mans her to church, to plays, through the streets, to the Exchange, plays at cards with her till after midnight, rides with her into the country, lends her horses. She will be twice a

¹ It was time he (James I.) was touched.

² Arthur, afterwards knighted.

³ Judge of the Prerogative Court in Canterbury, and in 1617 ambassador to the court of Brussels. In 1621 he was convicted of bribery in his office, and fined and imprisoned, and died in 1627.

week in his chamber before he be up, for she lives within a house or two of Sir Christopher. If all this prove nothing, I know not what to say to the widows of this age, nor what privilege they pretend.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, March 12, 1612-13.

To other persecutions of our poor courtesans (who have suffered much of late days by the severity of some Catos now in office) is added a decree, that none of them must be seen at sermons, nor follow processions, which breaks many a good match was wont to be made in those places.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

The Saturday after my last to you, the king came to town, and tarried here all that Shroving week till the 14th of this present, that he went to Oking, but is expected here again before Sunday, and then, it is like, will not stir till the parliament be settled. A day before he went, he was to visit the lord chancellor and lord privy seal, who are both crazy and keep house.

Upon Saturday last there was a great concourse at Uxbridge for the choosing Sir Julius Cæsar and Sir Thomas Lake, knights, for Middlesex. Sir Walter Cope stood not, but Sir Francis Drury had a man there, who, getting up upon a table, told the assembly that his master meant to have stood, but was forbidden by the king. Wherefore, he desired all his well-wishers to give their votes to Mr. Chancellor,¹ and for the second place, to do as God should put in their minds. For this saucy part he is committed, and his master called in question for the message.

I have not heard of so much contestation for places in parliament as falls out at this time. Yet Sir Francis Goodwin and Sir William Borlase have carried it quietly in Buckinghamshire, and Sir Robert Rich, with Mr. Richard Weston, in Essex, as likewise Sir Thomas Parry and Sir

¹ Of the Exchequer, Sir Julius Cæsar.

Henry Neville, in Berkshire; though I hear Sir Thomas Parry be in some disfavour, and like to be suspended from the execution of his place of chancellor,¹ and to be put to his pension. But Sir Henry Rich going confidently into Norfolk with my lord chamberlain's warrant and letters, missed the mark, by reason the sheriff, upon less than half a day's warning, adjourned the county court from Norwich, where it is usually held, and where Sir Harry had more than four thousand freeholders ready, to a place twenty miles off and more, where Sir —— Bedingfield and Sir Hammond le Strange carried away the goal. And though this were but a trick of the sheriff, yet they say he may do it by law, and the other is without remedy.

Sir Thomas Monson hath likewise failed in Lincolushire, where Sir George Manners and Peregrine Bertie have carried it. And it is observed that letters and countenance, even in meaner boroughs, prove not so powerful as was imagined.

The canvass in Cambridgeshire lies between Sir Thomas Chichely, young Sir John Cutts, Sir John Cotton, and Sir —— Caye, and in Hampshire 'twixt Sir —— Titchbourne, Sir Henry Wallop, and Sir William Uvedale, my Lord of Somerset's chief favourite, which will be decided this day.

Sir Edwin Sandys sinks in his pursuit for Kent, and means to give it over, seeing his chief agent, Sir Robert Mansell, for the navy, and Sir Dudley Digges for the country, undertook with more courage than success. But the greatest encounter is like to be in Somersetshire, 'twixt Sir Maurice Berkley, Mr. Pawlet, and Sir Robert Phillips, for whom his father says he will set up his rest and follow the matter with might and main. Randolph Crew is already designed speaker; and this is all I can remember for the present touching parliament business, which is the great entertainment we have.

Now, for the other canvass, that concerneth our friends at court, I begin to be persuaded that we shall shortly see somewhat done, and therefore will say the less, but that only Sir Thomas Lake offers fair for it, and hath

¹ Of the duchy.

potent friends every way. Yet if many stand firm but few days, as they are now resolved, I doubt not but it will be despatched before the parliament, as near as it is. In the mean time, Sir Thomas Edmondess persuades himself he shall be one, whosoever is the other, but I would it were no worse. This negociation is not greatly well tasted here, only by the king and some few Scots, as bringing little advantage in any thing and great detriment to religion. And it is generally said we may have *meilleur marché*, and better conditions with the Spaniard. He hath written a little treatise to answer all objections, which he promised I should see when it is finished.

The elder Taylor, that was in the Gate-house, hath found the means to escape, so that now they are both gone. The keeper is committed, and a Florentine that served the Lord Vaux, as suspected to be privy to his escape. For my part, I am not sorry to be rid of them; for, though they were notorious rascals, yet I know not what we should have done with them. Yet it was in consultation to send them to Virginia; but I see not to what purpose. Sir Robert Wroth died on Monday of a gangrene *in pudendis*, leaving a young widow with £1200 jointure, and a young son not a month old, and his estate charged with £23,000 debt.

The Earl of Somerset hath taken or borrowed Sir Baptist Hickes's house at Kensington, and there settled his lady. I think the master of the wards¹ would have been glad of the favour.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 25, 1613.

Sir William Barnes was with me on Tuesday, and doth acknowledge your great favour and kindness towards him with much thankfulness. Yesterday he delivered me a book from you, and then went to visit Sir Henry Saville and his lady, but could not have access; for she had taken physic, and Sir Henry was in his fit, an ague having caught

¹ Sir Walter Cope.

hold of him, as your sister Williams can tell, who had been with him twice or thrice. So that he must, of necessity, be absent from the great funeral at Oxford on Monday next, which is the last act of Sir Thomas Bodley's vanity, which doth every day appear so much, that though I never had any excellent conceit of him, yet I did not think he had been so vainly ambitious as he discovers himself many ways.

Sir James Cromer lies at Sir Matthew Carew's, dangerously sick, and it is thought will hardly escape. Mr. Tollerby, after a long, languishing sickness, ever since before Michaelmas, is lately dead, and brought to town from Canterbury two days since. His wife died some two or three months before him. He left Sir Richard Smith and the Lady Boys his executors, and to his son £100 a-year. But if the executors shall in truth and conscience find that he mends his manners and reforms himself, then he is to have £400 a-year, land and lease, otherwise to be disposed to other children or other uses.

Langley, our town-clerk, is lately dead of the horn sickness; for taking his wife tardy with one of his men, it drove him into such a distemper of melancholy and frenzy, that within four or five days made an end of him. He was a limb of the late lord treasurer, and by him thrust upon the city; and though he bore a high sail, yet he died a poor man, and in debt.

The king came to town on Tuesday, and by the way of Royston; drew his sword to make four or five knights. Young Smith¹ was sent for by his agents to Knebworth, but my mischance he was out of the way.

Yesterday was the great tilting at court, where there was more gallantry both for number and bravery than hath been since the king came in. There were six earls—Lennox, Arundel, Rutland, Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery; six lords—Clifford, Walden, Chandos, North, Hay, and Dingwall; six knights—Sir Thomas Somerset, Sir Thomas and Harry Howard, Sir Robert and Sir Henry

¹ George Smith, of Annables, afterwards knighted. He married Judith, daughter of Sir Rowland Lytton.

Rich, and Sir John Harrington, besides the two Alexanders. They all performed their parts very well, specially Sir Henry Rich, with Sir Sigismund Alexander.

The king is very angry, and out of late with our Cambridge men, for their questions at the Palsgrave's being there; specially whether *electio* or *successio* was to be preferred in kingdoms; and is out of patience that it should be so much argued in schools.¹

Here is a flying report, but I do not believe it, that there is a bull come from Rome against the king, and clapt upon the court-gate; and that the Pope prepares forces both in Italy and Spain for Ireland. In the mean time we sleep securely.

Here is a general stay of all shipping, that none may go forth till the Lady Elizabeth be gone, which shows a great penury and decay of navigation, that they cannot provide 2500 mariners to furnish eight or nine of the king's ships, without all this ado and noise. Their departure holds for Thursday in Easter week.

We hear that the Duke of Savoy hath taken Easton, the notable pirate, with protection. As the news come, there was one going to him with a pardon, which, whether it proceed now or no I know not.

The lord chamberlain² and the Earl of Salisbury were in hand to make over their [patents], the one of currants and Venice glass, the other of silks, to the king; but the master of the rolls³ being appointed, among others, a commissioner in the business, firmly withstood it, alleging, that in the next parliament these would be specially complained of as principal grievances, so that it would be neither for the king's honour nor profit, with ready money, to buy their envy, and transfer it upon himself.

I hear that Sir Edward Cecil is the lieutenant of the ordnance, Sir Roger Dallison lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Wood to be put to his pension. Here is whispering, that the Count Henry, of Nassau, hath a month's mind to my Lord of Northumberland's daughter; which, if it should fall right, must prove a great match for her.

¹ This is extremely characteristic of the British Solomon.

² Earl of Suffolk.

³ Sir Edward Phillips.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, April 2, 1613.

I was put by my writing last week (when I meant to have saluted you) by much reading, upon occasion of my secretary's arrival, who brought me good satisfaction in the business he had in charge, answerable to the opinion you conceived of him. Some of my friends have taken an apprehension that I dealt reservedly with him, suspecting that he had somewhat in commission concerning my own particular, with which I would not acquaint them. But for that point, he was in the Low Countries, which way I directed him expressly, that he might there *prendre langue*, and govern himself accordingly. I am, therefore, now at a *nonplus*, only feeding upon some good comforts I have received from the best hands, that there is no ill conceit here of my service, but that I may have favourable hearing in any reasonable matter I can pretend unto: wherein, the occasions growing always at home, and almost as soon passed as sprung up, I must refer myself wholly to my friends, to perform that in my behalf, which they judge fittest for me; and thereunto I shall most willingly accommodate myself. But I have reason to despair of their endeavours, if they apprehend I run any bye-courses; and, therefore, I pray you remove that conceit, if you find it hath made impression in any whose furtherance I use, which you know is within a narrow compass.

In Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador in England, his place will be chosen the end of this month. Signor Barbarigo, whom you saw at Turin, who is a gentleman both of learning and sufficiency, and otherwise so well affected, that I think he will give much satisfaction.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, May 14, 1613.

I wrote to you of a fire kindled by the Duke of Savoy, in Italy, which was then thought would have proved only *fuogo de petardo*, but it proves good—all Italy arms upon the occasion.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 10, 1613.

At my coming to town the last week, I met with your letter of the 14th of May, my last with you being the 13th of the same. Since which time, here hath not been much alteration; I mean, in matter of placing or displacing officers. And sure I begin now to be of opinion that our hopes go rather backward than forward. One reason whereof among many others is, that these businesses are now parted among divers, that were wont wholly to rely upon one, and they are loth to lose that hold of valuing themselves in the king's favour, and having access to his ear. I could wish our friend in the Low Countries had never been spoken of; for, if he do miss, it will make him give over the world and leave these courses, that might easily have brought him both profit and advancement.

Sir Robert Mansell hath been this fortnight in the Marshalsea, for animating the lord admiral to stand against a commission granted to review and reform the abuses committed by the officers of the navy; and Whitelock, the lawyer, is in the Fleet, for speaking too boldly against the authority of the Marshal Court; and, being upon his release, is remitted thither again for giving his opinion, though not under his hand, to Sir Robert Mansell, that this commission was not according to law.¹

The last month, the parliament assembled in Ireland, but at the first meeting the popish faction excepted against certain new boroughs and burgesses, lately erected by the king, alleging they ought not to be admitted till they were allowed by parliament. Then was there another difference about choosing their speaker, the one side making choice of Sir John Davis,² the other of one Sir Everard, a very sufficient and grave man, as is given out. They got both into the chair, and there bustled awhile, till Sir

¹ These were among the numerous unconstitutional acts of this sovereign—the beginning of that career of misgovernment which the Stuart kings chose to run, till abruptly stopped by the influence of the power they so grossly outraged.

² Attorney-general of Ireland.

Richard Wingfield,¹ marshal of Ireland, pulled down the Irishman, and so they dissolved and sent a petition to the king. In the mean time, the parliament is adjourned to a further day; and the Earl of Thomond² is newly arrived from thence.

The cause of Sutton's Hospital, after much arguing and debating, *pro et contra*, is come almost to the upshot, being brought into the Exchequer Chamber, where all the judges must argue and give their opinion. The attorney-general³ hath spoken excellently for it, and Mr. Solicitor⁴ is wittily and ingeniously against it. In conclusion, on Saturday last, the four puisne judges began, and went all clearly for it, which, I assure you, hath much revived the world, hoping the rest of the bells will ring in the same tune. These were, Hauton, Nicolls, Winch, and Dodderidge.

The divorcement 'twixt the Earl of Essex and his lady is

¹ A member of an ancient English family, settled in Rutlandshire since the Conquest, who then held the castle whence the De Wingfields took their name; since when, their representatives have frequently achieved high honours, both in arms and diplomacy—Sir John de Wingfield having belonged to that distinguished assemblage who were companions in arms and counsellors of the Black Prince. Among Sir John's successors were several who obtained honours in the service of the crown, till the reign of Henry VIII., when Sir Robert Wingfield was employed in several important embassies, was made a knight of the garter, and successively filled the military posts of marshal, lieutenant, and deputy-governor of Calais. He was the eleventh son of Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham—for, among the good qualities of this heroic race, was that of multiplying heirs male, at a ratio of increase that seems absolutely marvellous in this Malthusian age. It will be seen that this good quality, however, did not long remain in the family. Lewis, the ninth son of this fruitful father, had a son, Sir Richard, a doughty soldier, who early in the reign of Elizabeth obtained the post of governor of Portsmouth, and was the immediate progenitor of the Sir Richard of the text. The latter was one of the eminent commanders of the warlike reign of Queen Elizabeth, who particularly distinguished him on one occasion by presenting him with a scarf, in which he is represented in his portrait. His uncle, Sir William Fitzwilliam, being lord deputy of Ireland, he there commenced his military career: he afterwards served several campaigns in the continental wars, whence returning to Ireland, with the highest reputation for courage and talent, the Queen, in the year 1600, appointed him mareschal of that kingdom, in which post he was confirmed by her successor, who further honoured him with many marks of his favour; made him a member of the privy council; in 1613, selected him as one of the principal members of the Irish government; and, on the 18th of February, 1618, raised him to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Powerscourt. He died without issue, in 1634, when the peerage expired—it was soon afterwards revived in favour of a kinsman, again expired for want of heirs male at his death, in 1717; and in 1743 Richard Wingfield, Esq., M.P., of Powerscourt, was elevated to the peerage, by the titles of Baron Wingfield and Viscount Powerscourt: since when they have regularly descended to the present representative, Mervyn, the seventh viscount, of Powerscourt Castle, county Wicklow, now a minor.

² Donogh O'Brien, fourth earl, a celebrated soldier in this and the preceding reign. He is sometimes called "the Great Earl." He died in 1624.

³ Sir Henry Hobart.

⁴ Sir Francis Bacon.

on foot, and, I think, will come shortly to a conclusion. It hath been heard at Lambeth, before certain commissioners, twice or thrice. All the difficulty is, that though he be willing to confess his insufficiency towards her, yet he will be left at liberty to marry any other, and stands upon that he is *maleficus* only *ad illam*. Now, some lawyers are of opinion, that if she will swear that he is impotent towards her, there is sufficient cause of divorce, which it is thought she will make no bones of, being, as she presumes, provided of a second, which I should never have suspected, but that great folks will have their ends, without respect of friends or followers.¹

The queen is not yet returned from the Bath, or there about, having been at Bristol and received great entertainment at divers places, with which, and the country sports they make her, she is so pleased, that it is thought she will make many more such progresses. She is not looked for at Greenwich till Saturday come sevensnight. The king goes as far as Windsor to meet her.

In the mean time, the ambassador of Savoy spends his time merrily, and is much with the king; and, on Sunday night, was very solemnly feasted in Holborn, by Sir Robert Rich; and, on Tuesday, he was at the Lord Mayor's,² where, besides all other cheer, they had a play. Signor Fabritio is never from him; indeed it is all the work he hath to do. Young Fabritio³ was almost killed a fortnight since, by the running away of a coach.

We have had the Duke of Savoy's declaration here above this fortnight, and it is putting into English, and they were sold ordinarily for two pence.

But now I am to give you thanks for the book of *Ragguagli*⁴ you sent me by Sir William Barnes. I read the most part of at my being this Whitsuntide at Ware Park,

¹ This is the famous divorce of the very youthful couple, whose nuptials were celebrated with such vast rejoicing. See p. 42. The allusion at the end of the paragraph is to her scandalous connection with the king's favourite.

² Sir John Swinnerton.

³ Albertus Morton, nephew of Sir Henry Wotton. This accident is mentioned by Sir Henry in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, of May 27, 1613. See his *Reliquie Wottonianæ*, p. 417, 3rd. edit.

⁴ "Ragguagli di Parnasso," di Trajano Boccalini. An Italian satirist of great reputation at this period. He wrote a second part of his news from Parnassus, under the title of "La Segretaria d'Apollo." He died in 1613.

and though to me, that understand so little of those courts and courses of Italy, he be dark, and in many places had need of a comment, yet I find them full of witty conceits and sound judgments, saving where he dare not declare himself, and methinks it is a pretty manner of essays cooked after a new fashion.

Our aldermen have new privy seals for £200 a-piece before their old money be paid.

Mr. Hare of the Court of Wards is lately dead upon a week's warning, having, for aught I hear, left his son there with you but £300 a-year and his office, whereof he had the reversion, but with limitation that he live in England. We have likewise lost Sir George Gifford, whose loss I think had been less both for himself and his posterity if he had gone thirty years ago.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, May 28, 1613.

The Venetian ambassador at Turin has returned hither, and was conducted into the College with more than ordinary solemnity, to show that his licensing by the Duke of Savoy was not here held in any disgrace to him. He found a tragical accident in his house; his sister (being married to one of the best families) having broken her neck out of a window in a hypochondriacal humour; and without any help, (as is verily thought) though such desperate practices be very rare in these parts, where life is so much set by.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, June 18, 1613.

Sir H. Wotton's secretary, whom he left at Turin, by journey he made, as employed by the Duke of Savoy, to Berne and Geneva, hath raised much and strange discourse. I pray you write what you hear of it, for we held it to be done without order of England.

[The writer of the following letter was one of the most respectable examples of that useful class of writers whose occupation has since been superseded by the reporters for the public press. He appears to have been educated at Cambridge, for he is not mentioned either in Wood's *Fasti*, or *Athen. Oxonienses*, and to have embraced the Church as a profession, but his first duties were those of a governor or travelling tutor, in which capacity he accompanied the only surviving son of the Lord Keeper Puckering, in a tour through France and Flanders. From this he did not return till the summer of 1611, soon after which his pupil received the honour first of knighthood, and a few months later of a baronetcy, when he renewed his travels under the same able auspices. They resided at Paris about a year, when Mr. Lorkin exhibited his talent as a writer of news, by sending to Mr. Adam Newton,¹ then secretary, but formerly tutor to Prince Henry, a continual account of the proceedings at the French court: no doubt this was for his royal highness, who took a great deal of interest in foreign intelligence, and in fact of information of almost every description; and to gratify the prince, Mr. Lorkin, before he left the French capital, engaged an intelligent person to write to Mr. Newton weekly letters of French news.²

The master and pupil proceeded together to Florence, where they separated in the spring of 1613, till towards the end of the following year, when Mr. Lorkin, who had returned to England, left his residence to meet Sir Thomas Puckering, then on his way homewards after a lengthened tour through Spain and Italy. Sir Thomas on his arrival in England took up his residence in the Priory, at Warwick, where, although he chose to live in retirement, he received from various correspondents continual intelligence of what was going on at home and abroad. The Rev. Thomas Lorkin for a time remained in London, whence he sent his patron accounts of every thing that transpired worthy of notice. In June, 1618, he accompanied Thomas,

¹ He seems to have been educated for the Church, and was promoted to the Deanery of Durham on the 27th of September, 1606, though never in orders; but he is mostly known in his civil offices and as the secretary of the promising Henry Prince of Wales. He resigned his deanery in 1620, on being created a baronet.

² Which letters are still preserved among the Harleian MSS.

the second son of Sir Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, in a tour through Germany and France, whence he returned in the spring of 1619-20. In 1623 he was again in France, in the position of secretary to the embassy that negotiated the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria, when he wrote the letters to the Duke of Buckingham, printed in the Cabala and in Rushworth, and his services were highly commended by Mr. Secretary Conway. He is believed to have perished in a storm at sea about the beginning of November, 1625, when bringing despatches to England from the ambassador at Paris.]

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, June 24, 1613.

If these letters did not assure you to the contrary, you might judge me dead; at least that some strange accident hath befallen me, who have kept so deep silence so long a time; for to imagine that either I could forget or neglect your so infinite merits towards me, were a censure too hard and rigorous once to enter into the conceit of so generous a disposition. None of these therefore have been the occasion, but only a mere necessity, first of drawing forth my journey into a longer tract than ever I propounded to myself, and then of making a farther abode in France, than at the beginning I intended, thereby to accommodate certain businesses of your brother Newton's,¹ which began through my absence to grow into some untowardly disorder. But now that I am safely arrived here, I shall promise to dedicate myself wholly to your affairs, and will hope to improve my industry and diligence such as you shall find no fault to complain that ever you reposed in me that trust which you have done. Touching your design in the prince's² service, I had already communicated it with Mr. Newton, who giveth small en-

¹ Adam Newton, Esq. He is styled by Dr. Thomas Smith, "*Vitæ quorundam eruditiss. et illust. virorum*," printed in 4to., in 1707, *vir elegantissimi ingenii*."

² Charles, afterwards King Charles I.

couragement of proceeding farther in it, at least till his highness grow near upon the point of his creation [as Prince of Wales], which is yet likely to hold us in expectation three years longer.

There hath been already some contestation had between your brother and Mr. Murray,¹ the prince's tutor, touching the place of secretaryship, this man making it, as your brother formerly did, the chief end of his hopes; so that at length Mr. Newton hath been content to relinquish his right thereunto, upon condition to be made his highness's receiver-general, which is like to be no less beneficial than the former. The mastership of his highness's horse hath divers competitors. Sir Thomas Howard is the most importunate suitor; and Ramsey, who is first escuyer to the prince, thinks it great wrong if he do not enjoy it. In the bedchamber, you know there are already two, Sir Robert Carey and Sir James Fullerton: David Murray² sues to be the third, hoping by that means to recover himself of what he is so much cast behind in, having made a very weak and uncertain estate unto himself, notwithstanding all his former service. But he is like to meet with difficulty enough before he obtain it, notwithstanding all the furtherance he finds from Mr. Murray, his kinsman.

Among the grooms, Sandilands began the suit first, and had procured the king's grant for his present entrance into that charge: but this giving occasion to Gibb and Ramsey to do the like, their importunity hath been a means to revoke and cross that which the other made sure reckoning to have before fully effected for himself.

The first day of this next month the prince begins to keep house at Richmond, where Sir Arthur Mainwaring and Sir Edward Varnam³ (so I think they call him, for I am a bad treasurer-up of names) are like to exercise their former places, though they both sue to exchange them with

¹ This appears to refer to Mr. Thomas Murray, who was tutor to the Duke of York, Charles I.

² Sir David Murray. He was first gentleman of the bedchamber, and afterwards groom of the stole to Prince Henry.

³ Verney. He was one of the sewers in the establishment of Prince Henry; Sir Arthur Mainwaring was one of the carvers.

being gentlemen of the privy-chamber. Mr. Alexander likewise shall be put again into the possession of his. So shall Mr. Peter Newton and his fellow Shaw also. Few others shall be admitted above stairs at this present; and for them below, the first clerks in every office shall execute their proper charge as before.

The great places of the court are not yet disposed of. The manifest faction which is between the family of the Howards on the one side, and the Earl of Southampton and Viscount Rochester on the other, is supposed to be the cause thereof. For the treasurership, the general voice confers it still upon Northampton, as it did that of the secretaryship upon Sir Harry Neville; though, for this latter, I suppose his hopes quite dashed; for merely depending upon my Lord Rochester, he wants not opposition; and then, besides, Overbury being fallen into disgrace,¹ he is thereby deprived of his best instrument. The most likely man to carry it, in the judgment of those who are not altogether unacquainted with those businesses, is Sir Charles Cornwallis, late treasurer to the prince deceased, who is reported very sufficient for foreign affairs: and with him it is thought shall be joined Sir Thomas Luke, though in a far meaner condition than were their predecessors, by reason of the lord treasurer's present greatness.

There hath lately come forth a proclamation against one Cotton, a west-country gentleman and a great recusant, charging him with high treason against the king and State, for having published a very scandalous and railing book against his majesty; and promising a very large reward to whosoever could apprehend him and bring him in. At the very self-same time, this Cotton being to cross the Thames, and inquiring of the watermen what news, they, not knowing the man, told him what was newly happened concerning himself. Whereupon being landed, he muffled himself in his cloak, thinking thereby to pass unknown to any of his acquaintance that he might haply meet. But he had not passed thence many paces, when one Maine, a follower sometimes of the late Lord of Devonshire, and a sure friend

¹ He had ventured to remonstrate with the favourite respecting his intimacy with the Countess of Essex.

of his, meeting him in the street and discovering well what he was, [warned] him likewise of danger, with protestation nevertheless not to make any benefit of the discovery of his friend, but wishing him to provide for his own safety. Thereupon Cotton demanding his opinion what he thought fittest to be done, he advised him to submit himself to the king's mercy: whose counsel he followed, and presently went and surrendered himself into my Lord of Southampton's hands, and so rests at his majesty's mercy.

Your brother Newton, Mr. Southcot, and one Mr. Wood, have all, jointly together, lately obtained letters-patents for the putting in practice of an invention of the said Wood's, who by steeping all kind of corn and grain in a certain liquor, undertakes thereby to render it more fruitful with five shillings' cost, than would ever have been before done with forty.¹ They are now very busy in projecting a course for the [spread]ing of it throughout the realm, and hope to reap no small profit and advantage by it. When that is settled, your brother meaneth to make a journey to Durham,² whither Sir Thomas Grantham and his lady purpose to accompany him. He despatches away before great store of provision by sea, both of wine, beer, and divers other commodities, and means to be at the charge of a very honourable entertainment. Only Mrs. Newton stays behind, being hindered by a very happy occasion, finding herself quick with child.

Sir Thomas Mildmay³ keeps Whitehall close, not daring to venture abroad, for Sir John Wentworth's debt. He intends [to sell] Moulsham⁴ away shortly, and so to procure his own liberty.

About four or five days since, the Duke of Savoy's ambassador took his leave, who hath been here honoured with a very royal entertainment. The occasion of his ambassage, I suppose, is well enough known unto you, namely, to treat of a second motion of marriage between our prince

¹ Something of the kind has lately been started as an invention.

² See the letter of August 12. Mr. Newton was, as we have stated, Dean of Durham, though a layman: such an appointment being allowable at this period.

³ Knighted by King James I., at his majesty's arrival at Whitehall from Scotland, July 23, 1603, and created a baronet, June 29, 1611.

⁴ Moulsham, in Essex, the seat of Sir Thomas Mildmay.

and one of the daughters of Savoy. His offers are very great, and such as none other cometh near to. His wars upon the Duke of Mantua do, in a manner, furnish the whole subject to the Frenchmen's discourse. To write anything of them, I hold it needless; for, being much nearer, you cannot but understand those things likewise, much better than myself. Only I shall, in a word or two, inform you in how doubtful a deliberation the state of France stands, touching those affairs. The Prince of Condé and the Duke of Bouillon press both very earnestly for the relief of the Mantuan against the Savoyard. The Duke d'Espernon, on the contrary, travaileth all he may to overthrow and hinder it. And not long since, this point being debated in open council, Monsieur le Prince, in the heat of his contestation with the said duke, spared not to tell him that there was now carried so much respect to the affairs of Spain, as in the mean time they quite forgot that natural affection which they owed unto France, threatening therewithal that, in case they continued to reject the wholesome counsel which he gave in a matter of that importance, he would go and make his protestations to the Court of Parliament. It is that which keeps the adverse part somewhat in bridle, though yet the queen seems rather inclined to authorize the advice of the others than his. For, as touching the little aid which the Chevalier de Guise hath lately carried over, it is rather by permission than any commission from the queen, and is wholly composed of mere voluntaries.

The Duke de Vendôme having lately retired himself from court to a certain house of his, not far from Paris, upon a discontentment taken in the behalf and favour of the Prince of Condé, and there threatening never to return again so long as the regency of this queen lasteth; the queen, being advertised thereof presently, sent and confined him to his house. But the said duke, not able to brook any such confinement, contrary to the queen's injunction, made a journey into Bretagne, and there put himself into a very strong castle, named Ansenis. Whereupon, the queen presently despatched Monsieur de la Varenne towards him, to command him to return; and,

in case of his refusal, threatened to deprive him of his government. The duke thereto made a very humble and submissive answer, yet no way disposes himself to obey her commandment. Hereupon, the queen hath renewed it a second time by letters; but these are thought will as little avail as the former. And yet, nevertheless, the Prince of Condé, employing himself very earnestly in favour of the said duke, it is not like that there will be any rigorous proceeding against him, as is threatened.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, June 30, 1613.

My last letters advertised you of what had lately happened concerning Cotton, who yielding himself to the king's clemency, doth nevertheless utterly disavow the book, and constantly denieth to be the author of it. Hereupon, his study hath been searched, and there divers papers found, containing many several pieces of the said book, and (which renders the man more odious) certain relics of the late saints of the gunpowder treason, as one of Digby's fingers, Percy's toe, some other part either of Catesby or Rookwood (whether I well remember not), with the addition of a piece of one of Peter Lambert's ribs, to make up the full mess of them. If the proofs which are against him will not extend to the touching of his life, at least they will serve to work him either misery and affliction enough.

Upon Saturday last, being the 26th of this present, there was found, in the stone gallery at Whitehall, a certain letter, bearing address unto the king, which adviseth him of a treasonable practice against his majesty's own person, to be put in execution the 4th day of the next month, as he went a-hunting (if the commodity so served), or otherwise, as they should find their opportunity; affirming that divers Catholics had therein joined hands, as finding no other means to relieve themselves in the liberty of their conscience; and how there was one great nobleman about his majesty that could give him further instructions of the particulars. That himself was appointed

to have been an actor in it; but, touched with a remorse of dyeing his hands in his prince's blood, moved likewise with the remembrance of some particular favours which his father (saith he) had formerly received from his majesty, he could do no less than give him a general notice and warning of it. But because he instanceth not in any one particular, neither subscribed his name, it is held to be a mere invention to intimidate the king, and to beget some strange jealousies in his head of such as are conversant about him.

The prince is as to-morrow to begin housekeeping at Richmond. Sir David Murray and Sir Robert Carr¹ have newly procured to be sworn (with Sir James Fullerton), gentlemen of the bedchamber. Sir Robert Carey hath taken no oath, and remains in the same nature that Sir Thomas Chaloner² did to the late prince deceased. Sir Arthur Mainwaring, Varnam,³ and Sir Edward Lewys, have at length, with much suit, obtained to be sworn gentlemen of his highness's privy chamber.

The great officers must rest still in a longer expectance, unless this occasion help them. The king is desirous to relieve his wants by making estates out of the prince's lands; and having taken the opinion of the best lawyers what course is fittest to be followed, their judgment is, that no good assurance can be made unless the prince himself join likewise in the action. Now, this cannot be done without his council and officers for that purpose; so that it is supposed that some time in Michaelmas term next, before any conveyance be made, certain of these officers, if not all, shall be put again into the possession of their former places.

My Lord of Southampton hath lately got licence to make a voyage over the Spa, whither he is either already gone, or means to go very shortly. He pretends to take remedy against I know not what malady; but his greatest

¹ This Sir Robert Carr, who has been already mentioned, must not be mistaken for the favourite, his namesake. The former had been one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to Prince Henry, in which post he continued in the establishment of Prince Charles, who created him Earl of Ancrum in 1633.—Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 249.

² He was chamberlain. He died November 17, 1615.

³ Verney.

sickness is, supposed to be a discontentment conceived, that he cannot compass to be made one of the privy council; which, not able to brook here well at home, he will try if he can better digest it abroad.

No longer since than yesterday, while Burbage's company were acting at the Globe the play of Henry VIII., and there shooting off certain chambers in way of triumph, the fire caught and fastened upon the thatch of the house, and there burned so furiously, as it consumed the whole house, all in less than two hours, the people having enough to do to save themselves.¹

You have heretofore heard of Widdrington's book,² wherein he maintains against the usurpation of popes, the right of kings in matters temporal. This book hath been undertaken to be confuted by some in France; but the author hath proceeded so far in his confutation against kings' prerogatives, as the Court of Parliament at Paris have censured the book, and given order to have the sentence printed.

It is bruited abroad here, that Sir Thomas Puckering is grown a very hot and zealous Catholic. Sir Thomas Badger reports to have heard it very confidently avouched at a great man's table; and I assure you, it is the general opinion, or rather fear, of the most that know you and honour you. How far this may prejudice you, I leave to your wise consideration. I myself rest fully assured to the contrary, and so endeavour to possess others. Your care will be in the mean time to avoid all occasions whereby to increase this suspicion and jealousy.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 8, 1613.

Painters and poets may lie by privilege; but such as undertake to make relation of things that pass, should tell naught but truth. Pardon me, therefore, if I must now

¹ Burbage was Shakspeare's associate. The play was Shakspeare's, and the theatre was the one in which he had achieved his brilliant reputation.

² Probably that printed at Frankfort in 1613, and entitled "*Apologia Card. Bellarmini pro jure principum contra suas ipsius rationes pro Auctoritate Papali Principes deponendi.*"

revoke what in my last letters I writ for certain, touching the swearing of Sir David Murray and Sir Robert Carr in his highness's bedchamber. I received it very confidently from Sir John Harrington's¹ mouth. But I have found since, by my inquiry, that they only procured the king's warrant, which met with afterwards that opposition from the lords, as it rests yet doubtful whether and when it shall take effect. The prince's household is not yet settled; yesterday the council sat about it, and the opinion was that the king would then sign the book.

My Lord Stanhope's² son is lately fallen lunatic; and the little hope that is conceived of his recovery makes divers of your friends think that it was your hard fortune to be no more forward in embracing those offers which were formerly made you out of that house.

You have heard long since, I suppose, of the great difference between my Lord of Essex and his lady, who hath most earnestly sued for a divorce, pretending the only cause to be of her husband's insufficiency; who confesseth it towards her, though he esteems himself well enough provided for any other. It was expected that a nullity of marriage should have been pronounced by my Lord of Canterbury at the end of last term, but the sentence is deferred to the term following; which, if it be given in favour of her, it is generally believed that a match shall be concluded between my Lord of Rochester and her: thereby to reconcile him and the house of Howard together, who are now far enough asunder.

The news of the great entertainment at the Palatine's court is but newly arrived here. It consists chiefly in matter of good cheer, after the fashion of the country. They talk of I know not how many hundred tables which should be every day prepared; but you will easily proportion them out yourself, when you shall hear of the number of mouths, which were no fewer, every meal, than 6000. The same messenger brings tidings that her grace is with child, and that there wants not the concurrence of

¹ Knight of the Bath, afterwards second Baron Harrington.

² John, created an English baron by the title of Lord Stanhope of Harrington, May 4, 1605. He died March 9, 1820, leaving issue one daughter only.

all such tokens and probabilities as are usually observed in women in that state and condition.

The Duke of Lennox¹ arrived in Paris on Saturday last, as we are informed here, having made that the way of his return home from Heidelberg. He pretends the occasion of his stay there to be, the seeking to obtain the command of the company of horse which our Prince Charles had, when he was but Duke of York. But, though made an absolute refusal of it before his coming, he having employed himself in that business by commission from our king, the true cause of his stay is thought to be a treaty of marriage between Prince Charles and Madame Christine, which, having been long time negociated by Sir Thomas Edmondes, is thought shall receive its final conclusion from him.

Sir Thomas Waller, governor of Dover Castle, is lately dead. His place is already disposed of; but I cannot say certainly how. Sir Thomas Somerset² inquires very kindly after you, and you shall do well to omit no good means of entertaining his good opinion still.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Venice, July 9, 1613.

We had here Sir Thomas Puckering, who [arrived] opportunely from Naples, and two gentlemen, whereof one is a Scottishman, and a pensioner, who were of the Lady Elizabeth's train. They tell us my Lord of Arundel and his lady, whom they left with the Duke of Lennox at Strasburg, will return through France home without passing any further. But I rather believe they were so told to get rid of their companies; and the more, because I hear my lord had Inigo Jones in his train, who will be of best use to

¹ Lodovick Stuart. He was high chamberlain and admiral of Scotland, and in 1601 was sent by James ambassador to the court of France. In October, 1613, he was created Baron Settrington and Earl of Richmond. He filled the offices of master of the household, first gentleman of the bedchamber, was invested with the garter, and appointed commissioner to the parliament; and, in 1623, was further advanced to the dignities of the Earl of Newcastle and Duke of Richmond. Though twice married, the Duke of Lennox died without issue, in February, 1624.

² Third son of Edward, Earl of Worcester. He was afterwards created Viscount Somerset of Cassel (Cashel) in Ireland.

him, by reason of his language and experience in these parts.

Master Pory is come to Turin, with purpose to see those parts, but wants *primum necessarium*, and hath therefore conjured me with these words, *by the kind and constant intelligence which passeth betwixt you and my best friends in England*, to send him fourteen doubloons, wherewith to disengage him, where he lies in pawn, not knowing how to go forward or backward. I have done more in respect of his friends than himself, for I hear he is fallen too much in love with the pot to be much esteemed of any, and have sent him what he wrote for by Matthew, the post.

Send me Sir Francis Bacon's last "Essays," with whatsoever else is new in Paul's Church-yard.

I shall send you a second part of "Ragguagli" very shortly, if they be not forbidden at Rome, as we hear they shall be, for which the author, whom we have here amongst us, hath uttered this charitable censure openly upon the piazza, that in the court of Rome they do busy themselves with nothing else than forbidding *libri* and *libretti*, and following *putto* and *putane*. In these troubles of Lombardy he had this conceit, that Savoy and Spain did make betwixt them *una tela*, whereof *l'ordemento* (the woof) was *di Savoya*, and *la trama* (the web) *di Spagna*. I have some writings of his touching priests and Spaniards, which will not abide the proofs, with which I hope to make you laugh one day.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., at Venice.

July 15, 1613.

Since my last letters, the king hath signed the book for the prince's household, and * * * first entry thereupon on Friday last. The same day were sworn unto him all such officers as have been thought fit to be about him for the present. In the bed-chamber—Sir Robert Carey, Sir James Fullerton, Robert Carr, of Ancram, were sworn gentlemen, whereof the last came in by my Lord of Ro-

chester's means. Sir David Murray was not only rejected, but taxed openly at the council-table, for having suggested none of the best counsels to the late prince deceased. Into the same place were sworn, as grooms, Mr. Kirk, Mr. Gray (who was formerly his highness's page), and Pitcairne, who, till then, supplied the office of carver. This man is likewise one of my Lord of Rochester's creatures. In the privy-chamber were sworn gentlemen-ushers, Sir William Irwin and Mr. Heydon, to the prejudice of Sir Robert Darcy,¹ who is left out for a wrangler, notwithstanding his continual attendance since his last master's death * * *. In quality of gentlemen were sworn into the same place, Sir Arthur Mainwaring, Sir Edward Verney, Sir Edward Lewis, Mr. Clare, and Mr. Dallington.² The grooms are taken out of the gentlemen-waiters to the prince, while he was Duke of York, without the addition of any, unless it be Trotter, who is either already come in, or like to obtain the like condition very soon. Mr. Young and Mr. Alexander are sworn gentlemen-ushers of the presence. For carvers, cup-bearers, and sewers, I have not yet learned certainly who they be; but I hear there is little alteration. Ramsay is the first equerry, and Sir Thomas Howard master of the horse. The great officers rest still in expectation. Sir David Foulis,³ it seems, promiseth himself the best assurance; for he executes his place still, though more by permission and sufferance than any commission he hath received to that purpose. D. Ramsay and * * * * have been great suitors, but with as bad success as may be.

The court is at Theobalds, where his majesty hath been much afflicted with a flux and griping of the belly. He is much amended; and, if the occasion of this sickness alter not his purpose, begins his progress in [Wiltshire], and so to Salisbury, next Saturday. The queen, likewise, returns to the Bath the Saturday following.

The chief subject of our French news is the compounding of the quarrel between the Dukes of Savoy and

¹ He was one of the gentlemen-ushers of the prince's privy chamber.

² Afterwards Sir Robert Dallington; and, at last, master of the Charter House.

³ He had been cofferer to the prince.

Mantua ; whereof to write aught to you, who live so near them, were to send owls to Athens.

There hath lately fallen out a great difference between the Duke de Rohan and Monsieur de Plessis (both men of principal mark of them of the Religion,¹ though in a several kind); but what is the cause of their quarrel I yet know not. The chief church there is not a little troubled at it, insomuch that the deputies-general have sent Monsieur Durand, one of the ministers of Paris, down into those parts, to clear the matter, and to mediate a friendly peace between both. The Duke of Lennox hath received there a very honourable entertainment. He was expected in the condition of ambassador; but on his arrival took no other quality than of a private person, which gives many occasion to think, that his first commission was countermanded upon the Duke of Savoy's late ambassage hither. These are but conjectures.

I wish your return into these quarters as soon as the season of the year will permit you; it was your purpose when I left you, and I trust you still keep that resolution. The knowledge of that state is chiefly necessary, and the use of that language. I am sure you understand these things better than myself, and therefore dare not [presume] to advise you. Only my desire is the more earnestly led hereunto by an opinion I have of being able to do you there some pleasing service, and of putting into your hands the commodity of advantaging yourself [into] his highness's favour, than either your friends or money are like to do in haste. I have heard that you have formerly had some inward acquaintance with Sir Robert Carr, of Ancram. It will not be unworthy your entertaining still.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 22, 1613.

In this absence of the court, his majesty being now in progress, I find it [so much lost] time here, as were it not rather out of a will I have to keep my custom of writing weekly, than any store of matter I meet with, to furnish

¹ Huguenot.

out a just letter, I should altogether rest silent for the present, having no further subject than to let you understand how, upon Saturday last, one Talbot, an Irish doctor in the civil law, was committed prisoner to the Tower, for some bad practices of his in Ireland upon that late dissension which there happened between the English and Irish, touching the choice of a speaker. Though I hear he hath thereunto added this further offence, that being the same day of his imprisonment sent for by the king and [the council], and asked whether he thought it lawful upon any occasion whatsoever, and upon [any cause] to kill, or otherwise consent to the killing of his sovereign? answered, that he held no warrant sufficient for so vile an act. But being thereupon [asked a second] time whether he held it lawful for the subject to depose his prince? made answer in the affirmative, in his majesty's own presence; which is like to aggravate [those] that are against him, whereof I cannot yet learn the particulars.

David Ramsay is a great suitor to be captain of a company in the Low Countries, but withal that his debts may be charged and paid here. In the former, he may haply find good success; but he is like to meet with some difficulty in the latter, the rather for that the king's wants are great at this present.

Sandilands hath been offered a place of equerryship to the prince, and, as is said, refuseth it; but he may wait longer, and succeed worse.

Mr. Cæsar¹ hath this last act at Oxford taken the degree of doctor in the civil law, that he might not any longer anticipate so reverend a title. He now holdeth himself a knight's fellow at least, and that upon sure ground of yea, though his father's condition should nothing advantage him; which I therefore write, that you may see that, howsoever the quintessence of wits reside chiefly in your quarter, we are not so barren here, but that we can find men capable of sch[olastic] dignities.

¹ Son of Sir Julius.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

Ware Park, August 1, 1613.

Your letter of the 9th of the last found me out here at Ware Park, where I am, as it were, planted for this vacation, and where we are busied about new works, and bringing of waters into the gardens, which have succeeded so well, that we have a fine fountain with a pond in the lower garden, where the fount was, if you remember the place, and a running stream from the river in the upper garden, between the knots and ranks of the trees in the broad walk or alley, wherein we hope to have plenty of trouts fed by hand. These works, with industry and cost, are brought almost to perfection; and when they are well, and come to the highest, I would there might be an end, for else there is no end to new inventions.

For hither came yesterday Signor Fabritio,¹ and stays till to-morrow, being at so much leisure that he makes a progress to Cambridge, and so into Norfolk; and as he is ignorant in nothing, so he takes upon him to propound many new devices, and would fain be a director, where there is no need of his help. He discourses liberally of these matters of Savoy, and shows himself so partial, as if he were *addictus jurare in verba*, of whatsoever should tend that way. He speaks confidently, that the marriage is concluded 'twixt the new Duke of Mantua with the widow infanta, his brother's wife; that the King of Spain is to have the elder infanta, yet unmarried, and the younger is reserved for our prince; that there is so good and strict intelligence 'twixt that duke and this court, that there passes continually, as it were, love-tokens 'twixt the king and him, and between our queen and the infanta. His nephew Morton is to be despatched to remain there as the king's agent, with provision of thirty or forty shillings a-day, he knows not well whither, but with expectation of greater allowance after awhile. He hath scant recovered the hurt I wrote you of heretofore, and which was feared had somewhat crazed his headpiece; but the greatest harm, it seems, was in one of his hands, which

¹ Sir Henry Wotton.

continues, as he says, benumbed still, after so long surgery. I inquired of him after Castelvetro, for whom, he saith, he hath procured a place at Cambridge, with large promises, and thither he sent him; but when it came to performance, they failed, and so he is fain to follow his old occupation of reading Italian there to young gentlemen.

You can look for no news from home, but such as will be stale before it come at you. The king is in progress, and the queen gone, or going after. At their last, being at Theobalds, which was about a fortnight since, the queen, shooting at a deer, mistook her mark, and killed Jewel, the king's most principal and special hound; at which he stormed exceedingly awhile, but after he knew who did it he was soon pacified, and with much kindness wished her not to be troubled with it, for he should love her never the worse, and the next day sent her a diamond worth £2000, as a legacy from his dead dog. Love and kindness increases daily between them, and it is thought they were never on better terms.

Before the king's parting from Windsor, he sent for the commissioners employed in the divorce of the Earl of Essex and his lady; and being desirous to see it at an end, and to know their opinions, he found that the Bishops of Ely,¹ Coventry, and Lichfield,² the two chancellors of the duchy³ and exchequer,⁴ with Sir Daniel Donne, were directly for it, and to pronounce it a nullity. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London,⁵ Sir John Bennet, and Dr. Edwards, chancellor of London, were as directly against it. Whereupon the king hath added two bishops more, Winchester⁶ and Rochester,⁷ and two deans, Westminster⁸ and St. Paul's,⁹ who, together with the rest, must labour in it 'twixt this and Michaelmas, and then give their resolutions; which, *computatis computandis*, and considering the king's inclination, is like to be for the dissolution. At my last, being with the Bishop of Ely not long before my coming out of town, I found which way he leant, for he made no dainty to tell

¹ Dr. Andrews.² Dr. Richard Neile.³ Sir Thomas Parry.⁴ Sir Julius Cæsar.⁵ Dr. John King.⁶ Dr. Thomas Bilson.⁷ Dr. John Buckeridge.⁸ Dr. George Mountaigne.⁹ Dr. John Overal.

me his opinion ; which I could wish were otherwise, if there be no more reason in it than I see or conceive.

Our aldermen of London are hardly laid to, to lend £2000 apiece in this present want ; but what answer they make I do not yet hear. Arthur Ingram, for his good service, was knighted before the king's going. I heard not long since that the young Lady Rich¹ is brought a-bed of a daughter at Kensington.

The Earl of Bedford² hunting in a park of his own, by the fall of his horse, was thrown against a tree, and so bruised, that the report went that he was dead, and it is doubted yet that he is in danger, for that his skull is said to be cracked. His lady,³ who should have gone to the Spa but for lack of money, shows herself again in court, though in her sickness she in a manner vowed never to come there ; but she verifies the proverb, *Nemo ex morbo melior*. Marry, she is somewhat reformed in her attire, and forbears painting,⁴ which, they say, makes her look somewhat strangely among so many vizards, which, together with their frizzled, powdered hair, makes them look all alike, so that you can scant know one from another at the first view. Dr. Burges,⁵ who is turned physician, was much about her in her sickness, and did her more good with his spiritual counsel than with natural physick ; and his manner of praying was so well liked by Monsieur Mayerne, or Turquet, that, thinking to do him a pleasure, he commended him to the king, who was so moved that he should dogmatize (as he called it) in his court, that he commanded the archbishop to look to it ; who, sending for him, used him somewhat roughly, and enjoined him not to practice within ten miles of London.

There is a ship come from Virginia, with news of their well-doing, which puts some life into that action, that before was almost at the last cast. They have taken a daughter of a king, that was their greatest enemy, as she was going a feasting upon a river to visit certain friends ; for whose ransom the father offers whatsoever is in his

¹ Daughter of Sir Walter Cope.

² Edward, third earl.

³ Lucy, daughter of John, Lord Harrington.

⁴ Her face.

⁵ John. He had been minister of Sutton Colfield, in Warwickshire, and was esteemed a Puritan.

power, and to become their friend, and to bring them where they shall meet with gold mines. They proposed unto him three conditions:—to deliver all the English fugitives; to render all manner of arms or weapons of theirs that are come to his hands; and to give them 300 quarters of corn. The two first he performed readily, and promiseth the other at their harvest, if his daughter may be well used in the mean time. But this ship brought no commodities from thence, but only these fair tales and hopes. Marry, touching at the Bermudas, she hath brought thence some quantity of pearl, and between twenty and thirty pounds of ambergris, worth £900, at least; and by the next that is to come thence, they are promised to have a return of four times as much.

When the business at Virginia was at the highest in that heat, many gentlemen and others were drawn by persuasion and importunity of friends to underwrite their names for adventurers; but when it came to the payment, specially the second or third time, their hands were not so ready to go to their purses as they were to the paper, and in the end flatly refused. Whereupon they are sued by the company in Chancery, where this action finds such favour that they have ready despatch, and the underwriters are forced to make payment, which amounts to a round sum, between £3000 and £4000. Among the rest, your cousin, Will Lytton, was drawn on by Sir Walter Cope, with persuasion that he should not need to adventure any thing unless he list, but only to give his name for encouragement to others, and for a countenance to the cause. But now it comes to the reckoning, he is fain to disburse £40, and his friend, Sir Walter, cannot protect him.

At the assizes at Hertford, about a fortnight since, Sir Rowland Lytton, with his son William, his son Smith, and your nephew, John Carleton, lay there. Your nephew promised me, both there and at London, at your nephew Anthony's wedding, that you should have long relations from him. I cannot write you much of his courses, because I have not much of his company; but I see him very fine and neat, or rather curious, specially in cut-work bands, wherein our youth are become so vain, that

an ordinary band, with the double cuffs, costs six or seven pounds, and some much more. And upon speech of this and the like, his father told me he had a hundred pounds worth of such ware. I doubt he is too idle to enjoy the place he holds in court, which requires daily attendance and diligence, if a man mean to thrive by it. His turn is to wait the next quarter, and I cannot perceive that he doth any way yet fashion or inure himself to learn what is to be done. I am of opinion that his father does not perform his part; and I have heard it noted more than once, that he seems to show more respect and observance to his son than his son to him. Indeed, I can say it by more than him, that this is the age of *il monde reverso*, wherein parents observe their children more than children the parents. I hope you will bear with this plain dealing, because you require it in your letter, but I pray you take no notice from me of these discourses.

Sir Rowland Lytton and his son both told me how much good they heard divers ways of your kind usage and bountiful entertainment of all English gentlemen that came in your way; and the truth is, I should long since have sent you thanks from the Lady Fanshaw, for your great kindness showed to her nephews, Smith and Thornhill, who are no more sparing in relating and acknowledging your favour and liberal usage toward them than you were sparing of either in their *endroit*. But you had not need meet with many such poor moths as Master Pory, who must have both meat and money; for drink he will find out himself, if it be above ground or no deeper than the cellar, and this I had from my best friends, as he terms them.

I understand now for certain that our good friend at the Hague¹ is sent for to be here about Michaelmas, at the king's coming from his progress. But, whether it be to stay or to go back again, God knows.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, August 12, 1613.

First, touching the business which you so particularly commended unto me at our last being together at Florence,

¹ Sir Ralph Winwood.

hath made between it and a reversion of an office formerly granted him of being master in the King's Bench.

My Lord of Essex's cause hath had no hearings of late, and is remitted over to the 18th day of this next new month. Two new commissioners are adjoined to the former, viz., the Bishops of Winchester¹ and Rochester,² that their voice in favour of the nullity may be able to counterpoise the contrary opposition of Canterbury and London.

The Lord Chief Justice Fleming is lately dead, and Hobart and Montagu suitors for the place.

In my last letters I acquainted you with the stirs that were at Nismes upon occasion of M. Ferrier, some time their minister. M. le Conestable, who resides in those parts, hath made such a grievous complaint thereof unto the queen,³ as she hath taken a resolution thereupon to translate, by way of punishment, the presidial seat of justice, which is there, to Beaucaire, a neighbour Catholic town, hard by; which, if it once come to be put in execution, is like to occasion far greater stirs in those quarters.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., at Padua.

London, August 26, 1613.

Queen Margaret,⁴ I hear, is very sick, they say, out of conceit; for that it hath been told her, that the almanac doth foretel that this month one of the greatest women of Christendom shall die. The world would laugh, if so great a woman as she is (saith mine author) should have so little wit, as to be put to death by an almanac. The Prince of Condé, having overheated his body lately in hunting of the stag, fell into a burning ague, and was in some danger for four or five days; but now the violence of the disease being spent, there is a good hope conceived of his recovery.

The Duke d'Espernon, pretending to live in great fear of his life by reason of the mortal hatred, which divers of his enemies bear him, hath obtained of the queen, for better

¹ Dr. Bilson.

² Dr. John Buckridge.

³ Queen of France.

⁴ The first wife of Henry IV. of France, from whom she was divorced. She died 27th March, 1615.

security, a guard of twenty men taken out of the *regiment des gardes*, who accompany him up and down, wherever he goes; which is offensive to many, who think it strange that the public guard should be employed in the maintaining of his particular factions.

One Recion, a printer of the Religion, having long since reprinted the book of “*Novus Homo*,” (which was published here in England before against the present Pope) was condemned by the Judge of the Chatelet to make an *amende honorable* before the court, and another before the Nuncio; the further sentence was, that the book should be burned at the Nuncio’s gates; and the printer himself banished for ever out of Paris. From which sentence he appealing to the Court of Parliament, they have remitted all his other punishments, save banishment, and that they have restrained only to two years.

Those of the Religion having begun to build a college at Charenton, for the instruction of their youth, the lieutenant-civil adjourned the deputies-general to appear before him, to answer the matter; but they sent him word they were responsible to none but the chancellor, and do not let to go forward with the building; being confident they are sufficiently warranted thereunto by the grants and license of the last king. Richeome, the Jesuit, hath newly set forth at Bordeaux an answer of “*Anti-Coton*” and La Martalière’s Plea against the Jesuits, and I understand that Suarez,¹ the Jesuit, hath newly set forth a great book in quarto at Coimbra, in answer to his majesty’s apology. The quarrel between the King of Denmark and the States’ is now at length happily compounded. My Lord Harrington and his lady are, by this, I suppose, arrived in England, having left the Palatine’s court above a fortnight since. Sir John is gone to meet them at Calais; otherwise, I suppose, your letter should ere now have received answer. Some time next week, if not the latter end of this, his majesty is expected here in London.

¹ Francis Suarez, a Spanish theologian, who attacked James in a work written in defence of Catholicism, to which the king thought proper to reply by the hands of the hangman; a functionary who seems to have been much troubled at this period with the writings of zealous controversialists. Suarez published twenty-three folio volumes, and died at Lisbon in 1613.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, August 29, 1613.

You may please to remember how, in some of my former letters, I made mention of my Lord of Essex's cause, which was to rest in dependance till next term. But the king showed himself so affectionate in it, as the commissioners have been forced (to give his majesty satisfaction) to yield a more speedy hearing of it, which was done (though with little effect) upon last Wednesday. But it is believed generally that unless the commission be changed, the nullities which his majesty desireth will never be pronounced. For the Archbishop of Canterbury¹ and the Bishop of London,² together with Dr. Bennet, and Dr. Edwards, who are like to have the greatest sway in deciding this controversy, are directly against it; insomuch as my Lord of Canterbury, being with his majesty at Windsor for some three or four days before the hearing, fell down upon his knees twice or thrice, to entreat his majesty that he might be dispensed with from being on the commission; which he would esteem a greater favour that all that he had received from him in being raised from a private condition, and in so short a space, to the highest dignity ecclesiastical. At the last hearing, my Lord of Rochester stayed here in town, as is supposed, to hear the success, and rode presently past unto the king, [to acquaint] his majesty thereof, and sheweth himself so passionate in this business only in favour [of the countess,] with whom a new match would be presently concluded, if the old one were now abolished.

Sir Thomas Overbury is like to run a short course, being sick unto death.³ The lieutenant of the Tower, and the physicians that were there about him, have subscribed their hands, that they hold him a man past all recovery.

Mr. Albert Morton, secretary of Sir Henry Wotton, is to be sent presently ambassador to the Duke of Savoy, and there [remain], which gives occasion of conjecture here

¹ Dr. Abbot.² Dr. John King.³ He died on the 15th of September following, from poison, which Rochester and his countess had caused to be administered in his food.

that the old treaty of marriage is now [on foot] again; and that that other of France is like to fall to the ground. But in these [conjectures] haply it would be fit to be more sparing.

I received news lately from a gentleman, that heard it from Sir Ralph Winwood's own mouth, that the States are resolved to make war upon the King of Denmark, if either our king will join them, or otherwise be [persuaded] to stand by a neuter. Their quarrel is, for that the King of Denmark hath imposed a grievous tax upon all merchandise that pass the Sound, and he hath in effect blocked up that passage: for it is held that of every three ships that pass, one falls by this means to his share, which is a thing intolerable.

The differences between them of the Religion in France are grown so violent as the deputies'-general have petitioned the queen, in the name of all the provinces, for liberty to hold a general assembly for [consideration] and pacification of them. But they find this request to be nothing pleasing, nor without great difficulty to be obtained, out of a jealousy the States hath that they may grow to new complaints and demands, after the example of the last assembly.

There hath been lately a proposition of marriage between the daughter of M. D'Ancre, and M. De Villeroy's grandchild, who is the heir of his house; there having been a former intention of matching her with the young Duke D'Elbœuf, which gives occasion of great jealousy and suspicion to M. De Guise and his faction, fearing by this news that M. De Villeroy will be disjoined from them.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, September-9, 1613.

I received the enclosed from Sir Rowland Lytton, with order to send or reserve it, as I thought best; and though we have little certainty as yet of his son Philip's remove from Sedan towards you, yet at all events, and in hope of the best, I could not retain it. Sure it seems he hath behaved himself well, if he hath given credit for so much

money as will bring him along to Venice and pay the old score at Sedan, which his father hath expected at any time these four or five months. His brother William was of opinion that he suppressed his father's letters, and would take no notice of them, because he was willing to avoid the journey and longed to be at home, wherein he required his furtherance. But if he have taken this course for Venice, it shows he was rather in doubt of a countermand, and therefore made such haste and employed all the means he could to prevent it. If he be with you, I know he can want nothing; and so soon as his father shall have advice of his arrival, he will give order that money shall be paid over and all things made even.

Sir Ralph Winwood and his lady are come over out of Holland, and have been here these ten or twelve days. I made an errand to town on Monday to see them. I found him newly come from Windsor, whither he went on Saturday to the king, of whom, though he were graciously used, yet I cannot perceive there was any mention of the main matter. But Sir H. N.¹ is still as confident as before, and, if words and protestations be worth any thing, hath as good cause. But I have been of opinion many a day that he that hath it will hold it still, and means not to leave his hold but *à bonnes enseignes*. For [gradually] and by degrees he may as well grow into the title as he hath done into the possession, and commit the managing of ordinary matters to underlings and substitutes.

Our wants grow worse and worse, and all the engineers and projectors are put to their shifts how to supply the present need without sale of land, which, nevertheless, will hardly serve the time, nothing being left but the great entail, of a kind of *noli me tangere*. The complaints are general for want of payment, and Sir Ralph is in arrearage for nine months, and Sir Thomas Edmondes for as much or more. I hope you be in better case. Sir John Digby took up £1000 of Sarmiento, the new ambassador, at his coming out of Spain, and gave him bills of exchange to the commissioners of the treasury, which were paid, though with some difficulty. The farmers or importers of

¹ Sir Henry Neville.

wine, that were taken in the lapse before they fell, have compounded and fined for £16,000 in ready money, and £6000 a-year in hancement of rent.

Though there be, in show, a settled peace in these parts of the world, yet the many private quarrels among great ones prognosticate troubled humours, which may breed dangerous diseases, if they be not purged or prevented.

I doubt not but you have heard the success of the combat betwixt Edward Sackville and the Lord Bruce of Kinlos betwixt Antwerp and Lille, wherein they were both hurt, the Lord Bruce to the death, so that Sackville was driven to take sanctuary, whence by corruption or connivance I hear he is escaped. Here is speech likewise that the Lord Norris and Sir Peregrine Willoughby¹ are gone forth for the same purpose, and that the Lord Chandos and Lord Hay are upon the same terms; there was a quarrel kindling betwixt the Earls of Rutland and Montgomery, but it was quickly quenched by the king, being begun and ended in his presence. But there is more danger betwixt the Earl of Rutland and the Lord Danvers, though I heard yesterday it was already or upon the point of compounding. But that which most men listen after is, what will fall out betwixt the Earl of Essex and Mr. Henry Howard,² who is challenged and called to account by the earl for certain disgraceful speeches of him. They are both gotten over, the earl from Milford Haven, the other from Harwich, with each of them two seconds. The earl hath his base brother and one Captain Ouseley, or rather, as most affirm, Sir Thomas Beaumont, as one interested in the quarrel. Mr. Howard hath one Mr. Ball and Huntingdon Colby, esteemed very valiant gentlemen. The last news of them was that the earl was at Calais, and the others in Zealand. The king hath sent a post to Calais to the governor to stay them or either of them, and young Gib, of the bedchamber, is sent with commandment from the king to them both, if he come in time.³

¹ Second son of Peregrine Lord Willoughby of Eresby.

² The third son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, and brother to Frances, married to the Earl of Essex.

³ The frequency of these sanguinary contests attracted a good deal of attention, of which there is sufficient evidence, amongst the numerous papers on the subject,

The main blow for the Divorce Bill will be given the 18th of this month, when the commissioners are to give up their opinions. It is very likely to go forward, which in some sort were pity as well for the example and consequence, as for that I have heard from some that may know, that all this business arises from wilfulness and vain idle vows on both sides, when as upon her forwardness or untowardness at their first meetings or coming together, he grew to that impatience that he prayed God to damn him if ever he offered her any fresh kindness till she called for it, and she, in the like heat, wished to be damned if ever she did. Perhaps I am over bold with you in this plain manner of dealing, but if you knew what indecent words have passed in the course of this suit, you would excuse me and think me modest.¹

The commissioners or deputies sent out of Ireland about the business that passed in the beginning of that parliament, are most of them confined for a time to Croydon, and one Talbot, the most factious and saucy, committed to the Tower; and Justice Winch, Sir Charles Cornwallis, Sir Roger Wilbraham, and Mr. Calvert, are sent thither to examine these matters, to hear the complaints and grievances of that country, wherein the lord deputy² is joined with them as an assistant, which is thought somewhat hard that he, who is said to be no saint and to have been a principal motive of these troubles, should be as judge in the cause. Their allowance is three pounds a-day.

Dudley Norton and one Cottington,³ lately come out of Spain, are sworn clerks of the council. Sir Robert Brett is lieutenant of Dover Castle; and Sir Lionel Cranfield general over all the customers.

in the British Museum. MS. Cotton, Titus C. IV.—The most remarkable of these duels was that between Lord Bruce and Sir Edward Sackville, which in another age formed a subject for the able pen of Sir Richard Steele, *Guardian*, Nos. 129 and 133, where he published the narrative of one of the combatants; and more recently it has been illustrated by Lord Stowell. *Archæologia*, vol. xx.

¹ We have been obliged to strike out a few lines here descriptive of the excessive curiosity of one of the right reverend members of the commission.

² Arthur Chichester Lord Belfast.

³ Francis Cottington, afterwards made a baronet. He was secretary to Prince Charles, who, when king, made him chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and sent him ambassador to the court of Madrid. He was raised to the English peerage by the title of Lord Cottington, Baron of Hanworth, on the 10th July, 1631, and held several important posts, till the battle of Worcester caused him to seek safety in exile.

Sept
1613
DeWickton

The Lord Chief Justice Fleming died about a month since. The place is not yet given; but, for aught I hear, the lord chief baron¹ is likely to carry it.

We hear that the Lord Harrington is dead in his way homeward, and the Lord Russel² here at home; as also Sir Oliver Manners, who hath left his lands to his brother, of Rutland, Sir William Godolphin, Sir Richard Weston, the hunter; and there is speech, that young Seymour, that married the Lady Arabella, should be dead³ at Dunkirk.

Sir Arthur Ingram married this week a young widow, Holyday, a proper woman, worth £3000. She had withstood an army of wooers, and I think now lighted on the worst; and her mother-in-law, the Lady Holyday,⁴ is like to bestow herself on Sir Henry Montagu,⁵ the recorder, who labours hard to be the chief justice or chief baron, at the least. Sir William Webb⁶ was altogether in the north, where this summer-horse had the honour to carry away the bell at Gusterly race; and himself, newly mounted on a well-ridden filly, having married a daughter of one Sir

Strickland, of Yorkshire, who is like to pay his old debts either *in herbe* or *en gerbe*, or both, or else she is belied.

The Lady Vere⁷ is lately married a Scot, who at the first coming in of the king married a daughter of Sir Bevis Bulmer, that was widow to a nephew of Sir Hugh Beeston's. They were fain to give her way, and to further in this match, for they had kept her so long, and pressed her so much for young Dr. Cæsar,⁸ that it was feared she would cast herself away upon the first comer.

Yesterday, the Spanish and archduke's ambassadors visited the Lady Cæsar and her fair daughters. It

¹ Sir Laurence Tanfield.

² William, Lord Russel, of Thornhaugh, a distinguished soldier in the wars of Elizabeth.

³ He did not die till 24th October, 1660.

⁴ Widow of Sir Edward Holyday, Knt., and alderman of London.

⁵ Afterwards chief justice of the King's Bench, lord treasurer, and Earl of Manchester.

⁶ Who married Anne, daughter of Sir Rowland Lytton. He had been one of Prince Henry's esquires.

⁷ Widow of Sir Francis Vere.

⁸ Charles Cæsar, doctor of laws, one of the younger sons of Sir Julius Cæsar.

should seem they were at great leisure, and have little to do.

The king came to town yesterday; and this afternoon he goes to Wanstead, to-morrow to Havering, the next day to Theobalds. The queen is at the Bath, and here is no news of her return.

The Duke of Savoy's ambassador, the Cavalier Gabelione, liked his entertainment so well last year at Ware Park, that he hath brought and sent thither a present from his wife of *salaccioni cornellate mortadele*; certain little cheeses (all these of her own handiwork, and yet not worth the carrying so far); besides a pair of gloves and a paper fan, well perfumed, for the Lady Fanshawe; and plenty of silver and copper ribbons, of several colours, for all the children.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 14, 1613.

Sir Thomas Overbury died,¹ and is buried in the Tower. The manner of his death is not known, for that there was nobody with him, not so much as his keeper; but the fulness of the corpse gave suspicion, and leaves aspersion, that he should die of the —, or somewhat worse. He was a very unfortunate man, for nobody almost pities him, and his own friends speak that indifferently of him.

The Bishop of Lincoln² died upon very short warning, for he was well and at bowls after dinner, and dead before nine o'clock that night. It is thought the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield,³ shall succeed him in his place,⁴ and the Bishop of Rochester⁵ to Litchfield, and little Dr. Sharp⁶ to Rochester. Most men thought it should have been bestowed upon Dr. Abbot,⁷ of Oxford; but his Grace of Canterbury hath lost some grace of lately about

¹ September 15, 1613.

² Dr. William Barlow.

³ Dr. Richard Neile.

⁴ He did so.

⁵ Dr. John Buckeridge, who was not translated to Coventry and Litchfield, that see being given to Dr. Overal.

⁶ Dr. Lionel Sharp, who had been chaplain to Prince Henry.

⁷ Dr. Robert Abbot, advanced to the bishopric of Salisbury in 1615.

the great business,¹ though I hope not the grace of God nor men.

The marriage 'twixt the Earl of Essex and the Lady Francis Howard is dissolved, and pronounced a nullity by the Bishop of Winchester, who, with the Bishop of Rochester, were only supernumerary to the first commissioners, and so cast the balance by weight of numbers, being seven to five. The morning that the matter was to be decided, the king sent express commandment, that in opening they should not argue nor use any reasons, but only give their assent or dissent; and in the sentence there is no cause expressed but in these terms: *propter latens et incurabile impedimentum*.

The quarrel 'twixt the earl² and Mr. Henry Howard is compounded and taken up by the king himself, but the matter is not altogether ended there; for the seconds on both sides do vary in relating the carriage of the whole cause, and have given out different writings. Whereupon they have been convented and called in question by the Lords, and a writing, containing the whole matter and most material circumstances, tendered them to subscribe; which being accordingly done by Mr. Devereux and Captain Ouseley, the earl disavows it, and renounces them; and they, to cover their own slight in subscribing to a thing they had not advised upon, nor so much as perused, but only heard read by Dudley Norton,³ lay the fault upon him, as supporting and foisting in a writing, varying in divers points from that which was read them; and upon this they stood, offering to maintain it by oath, sacrament, or the sword. But the council have thought best to have the matter hushed, and enjoined them, or Mr. Devereux at least, who only appeared to recall all cartels, &c., to prosecute this cause no further, neither by word nor writing.

The choice of a new lord chief justice hath bred great variety, and much canvassing; but, in conclusion, it was once resolved, and so stands still, for aught I hear, that the Lord Coke should be chief justice, Mr. Attorney⁴ chief

¹ The divorce of the Earl and Countess of Essex.

³ Clerk of the council.

² Of Essex.

⁴ Sir Henry Hobart.

justice of the Common Pleas, and all to make way for Sir Francis Bacon to be attorney, whom the king hath promised to advance. These removes were looked for the first day of the term, but all things stand yet *in statu quo prius* ; for the Lord Coke doth so stickle and fence by all the means he can make not to remove, as being loth, he says, to be bought out of a court of law, which is his element, and out of his profit, in regard whereof he values not the dignity, that he hath written very earnestly to his majesty about it. The king is so gracious that he will not force him against his will ; but saith, that if he will accept it, he shall do it with as much honour as ever any one went to that place, which is a kind of a promise of a barony or councillorship, at the least.

Yelverton is in speech to be solicitor, for his great service to the king in the parliament, and for the disgrace he seemeth to sustain thereby. And some say his pleading against the hospital is not the least cause of his preferment. Sir John Brograve, attorney of the duchy, is lately dead, and one Moseley, an obscure lawyer, son to an alderman in the city, is in his place. The Lord Petre¹ is likewise deceased, of a long languishing consumption.

Sir Ralph Winwood is weary here already, and makes account to return into Holland towards the end of the next month. And for Sir Henry Neville, I think he is now *skiarito* ; that there is no truth in promises, and I marvel that he could be carried away so long with vain hopes ; for, since the conjunction, as they call it, of the chief favourites of both parties, he might easily see how the world went.

Sir Thomas Lake begins to come again in request, and much business passes through his hands, and I am fully of opinion that he shall be wholly employed under my Lord of Rochester, who, to give some contentment to Sir H. N.² presently upon the death of Overbury, who had the reversion of the treasurership of the chamber, bought the place of Lord Stanhope, for £2000, and would have bestowed it on him, but he refused to take money or anything bought with money, at a subject's hand, and withal

¹ Sir John, created Baron Petre.

² Henry Neville.

thought himself undervalued to be ranked with Overbury, and after he had been so long upon the stage for a secretary to accept a meaner place.

The Lord of Rochester is now buying £1000 land of the king, which belonged sometime to the Nevilles and Dacres, in Westmoreland and those parts, for the which he is to pay forty years' purchase—£20,000 he pays presently, and £10,000 is to be deducted from that he laid down about Easter, the rest likewise upon short days. Either his comings in are very great, or else he is a good husband and careful keeper; for it is observed, that within this twelve months he had made show of above £90,000; and now the speech goes, that he is shortly to be created Earl of Westmoreland. Other earldoms have been thought upon and brought into consideration, as Albemarle, Warren, and Devonshire, but that is thought ominous.

Signor Gabellione, the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, came *motu proprio* about three weeks since to Ware Park, accompanied only with Philip Bernardi and two servants. He brought a good castle of Parmesan with him, and tarried three whole days, taking great delight in the place, and especially in the catching of conies.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 25, 1613.

I imagine this enclosed will fully advertise what passeth at court, which is now the only place and centre of news, the world elsewhere, both at home and abroad, being very calm and quiet; and I think, likewise, that all is very peaceable and settled, the stream moving smoothly all one way, without opposition. All the talk now is of masquing and feasting at these towardly marriages, whereof the one¹ is appointed on St. Stephen's day, in Christmas, the other for Twelfthtide. The king bears the charge of the first, all saving the apparel, and no doubt the queen will

¹ Between Robert Car, created Earl of Somerset, November 4, 1613, and Lady Francis Howard, divorced from the Earl of Essex.

do as much on her side,¹ which must be a masque of maids, if they may be found; and that is all the charge she means to be at, saving the bride's marriage bed, wherein she will not exceed £500, for she saith her maid Drummond is rich enough otherwise, as well in wealth as in virtue and favour.

The queen, by her late pacification, hath gained Greenwich into her jointure.

The masquers, besides the lord chamberlain's four sons, are named to be the Earls of Rutland, Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset, Salisbury, the Lords Chandos, North,² Compton, and Hay; Edward Sackville, that killed the Lord Bruce, was in the list, but was put out again; and I marvel he would offer himself, knowing how little gracious he is, and that he hath been assaulted once or twice since his return.

The last week, a proper young fellow that served Sir Francis Bacon, was arraigned at the King's Bench for killing a Scot; and, being found guilty of manslaughter, was burnt in the hand. The matter was eagerly pursued and brought out of the country to be tried here, for fear of partiality, and had a very sufficient and extraordinary jury. Yet all are not satisfied that they found so much, the fellow being assaulted by two, the one before and the other behind, and being dangerously hurt at least in four places.

It is generally reported, that the Lord Hay is like to be a privy councillor shortly, and to be made an earl, but whether English or Scottish is yet *sub judice*.

The good return of our East Indian ships hath put such life into that trade, that our merchants mean to go roundly to work, and in less than a fortnight have underwritten for £400,000 to be employed in that voyage in four years, by equal portions. By which means, if they and the Hollanders can agree, they are like enough to impress the whole trade of those parts.

On Sunday, divers positions of Jesuits, especially of Suarez the Spaniard, were read and discussed at Paul's

¹ Upon the match between Robert Ker, Lord Roxburgh, and Mrs. Drummond of the queen's privy chamber.

² Dudley, third baron.

Cross, very derogatory to the authority of princes, and, after the sermon, a good number of his books were there publicly burnt.

That day seemed to be overruled by a fiery constellation, for there was a great fire at Clerkenwell, that burnt up divers houses and stables; another hard by St. Sepulchre's Church; and a ship in the Thames was fired by a mischance, and quite consumed.

There was more harm done by the floods that I mentioned in my last, than was at first known; for they have great loss in Romney Marsh, in Lincolnshire, in the Isle of Ely, and most about Wisbech; but especially in Norfolk, where there were five towns together wholly under water, and many people drowned, and those that saved themselves in the churches and steeples in danger to be famished before they could be relieved.

I know not how it came to pass, but the two friars you sent over are in poor case, and have been both lately sick, especially the younger, that was with the Archbishop of York; but weary of that place, and belike lingering after this good town, could not agree with that air forsooth, so that he was appointed to the Bishop of London, who, making him stay to receive him till he might be discharged of an English converted Jesuit committed to him, he fell sick in the mean time, and the best relief I learn he found was, that he was begged for in some churches, and his companion goes up and down to gather the charity of all their acquaintances and well-wishers.

Most of Lord Darcy's land, by the death of his brother and his son, for want of heirs male after his decease, are to return to the crown. Whereupon, Sir Thomas Savage, that married his daughter, hath, by the Earl of Somerset's means, and in giving him £24,000 and half the land, compounded for the rest, and for the barony after his father-in-law.

The Lady Burgh, with allowance of £500 a-year, is to go and reside about the Lady Elizabeth at Heidelberg, and carries over a midwife with her, whereby the rumour of her miscarrying seems to be false. The Lady Digby¹ is

¹ Wife of Sir John Digby, ambassador in Spain.

~~come out of Spain to lay her great belly here.~~ Sir Stephen le Sieur is recalled from the emperor's court, where it seems he is nothing acceptable. I hear no more of Sir Thomas Edmondes; but Sir Thomas Lake gives out, that if he do not shortly receive better satisfaction, he will resolutely retire and leave the court.

The 1st of this month, the lord chancellor was at Lincoln's Inn, as he said, to take his leave, and sung and danced about the fire, after their laudable custom.

Ned Blount hath sent you divers books and almanacks by sea. In the mean time, here is one to serve till they come. I acquainted Sir Ralph Winwood with the wine and oil you have provided for him; but I know not how nor where to inquire after it. It would come now very opportunely, both against Christmas and to cheer his heart after the loss of his little daughter, which he, and specially his lady, took very heavily. And since, he hath lost a brother-in-law that married his sister, one Serjeant, a very honest gentlemen, and of good living, that was brother, by the mother, to Sir William Fleetwood.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 23, 1613.

I am sorry to understand, by your letter of the 27th of the last, the unexpected end of the author¹ of the *Raggugli*, who deserved longer life, being so bold a critic, so fit to censure the world, if he might have found protection.

We are here in state as when I wrote last, without any alteration, though here be much buzzing and whispering of some change every day. But I think it is rather to entertain and pass the time than any true intelligence how matters are carried, for it is not likely there can be so much variety and inconstancy. For my part, I am at a good pass, and believe nothing of these flourishes and discourses but what I see.

Our good friend of St. Bartholomew's² is at the sore point; for though he be, by common voice and opinion,

¹ Trojano Boccalini. He is said to have been beaten to death with sand bags by four ruffians, who entered his chamber in the morning.

² Sir Ralph Winwood, who lived in Great Bartholomew's.

already, as it were, in possession of the place so much spoken of, and in great favour with the great man,¹ and enjoined to attend him (as he doth) every day, and farther hath more assured or direct promises than ever your Berkshire friend² had, yet he is not carried away to build much upon these foundations; but if nothing be done between this and Twelfthtide, is resolved to demand his despatch, and to return whence he came. He is told by him whom he may believe that, but for Sir Thomas Overbury, he had been in the place long since, when he was sent for in summer was twelvemonth, so that in reason there should be no let now; but that he seeks not by saints, or that he is reputed somewhat harsh and too plain a speaker for the tender ears of this age. Indeed, he is somewhat too quick and nimble to keep tune with the slowness of this time.

The treasuryship is as much disputed and finds the like despatch, and though the lord privy seal hath stood alone now a long while, yet the Lord Coke is come in, as it were, a competitor; at least, the common opinion holds him so.

Sir Francis Bacon prepares a masque to honour this marriage,³ which will stand him in above £2000; and though he have been offered some help by the House, and specially by Mr. Solicitor, Sir Henry Yelverton, who would have sent him £500, yet he would not accept it, but offers them the whole charge with the honour. Marry, his obligations are such, as well to his majesty as to the great lord and to the whole house of Howards, as he can admit no partner. In the mean time, his house at Gorhambury, by St. Albans, is gone, some say, to the Earl of Somerset, others, to the Earl of Suffolk. But his bounty is no whit abated; for he feasts the whole University of Cambridge this Christmas, and hath warrants to his friends and acquaintance far and near to furnish him with venison to bestow on the colleges. He carries a great port in his train, as well as in his apparel and otherwise, and lives at a great charge, and yet he pretends he will take no fees, nor intermeddle

¹ The Earl of Somerset.

² Sir Henry Neville.

³ The marriage of the Lord Rochester with the divorced Countess of Essex.

in mercenary causes, but wholly apply himself to the king's affairs.

The king's ship, called the Advantage, that carried you over to Calais, is lately burnt by misfortune in Scotland, and all the ordnance lost; but most of the men, all save sixteen, saved. Captain Wood, the captain, was on shore. The news is but newly come; so that I can learn no more particulars, nor what she made there.

Schomberg is lately come from the Prince Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth. He hath not yet had audience or access, for that the king hath been all this week at Hampton Court. One of his errands, they say, is to entreat from them both that Mrs. Dudley may not be called away.

Your old acquaintance, Mr. Rossingham, went away hitherward this week to conduct one Mrs. Mercer, a famous midwife, of this town, and hath large allowance, but before his going, he was well chidden and schooled by my lord chamberlain¹ for certain conference and talk he had at Eton touching the nullity of this marriage.

There is a pause or a stop, whatsoever it be, in your sister Betty's wedding,² that should have been kept there this Christmas. Some say the other side grew out, and hang off upon the death of Trafford, that had so much money of Sir Henry Saville in his hand, that he was, in a manner, driven to demand longer days of payment. Others, that the young gentleman³ gives not that satisfaction was expected, nor will be persuaded to go travel, and hath certain odd qualities, and given out speeches touching his match, nothing fit nor pleasing. I met with this but by chance, and would not willingly hear of it again, for the match is like enough to go on.

The Lord Lisle's son is in speech to marry one of the daughters of Lord Burghley, a proper gentlewoman, and that once within this twelvemonth had a greater suitor, (or else there be lies) that might easily have prevailed if he had not been engaged elsewhere.

¹ The Earl of Suffolk.

² Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Saville, whom Sir Dudley Carleton used to call father.

³ John, the son of Sir William Sedley.

Your cousin Carleton,¹ the preacher, was with the king on Sunday, and had many good and gracious words for a new work of his.² But, because meeting him yesterday, he told me had written to you himself, I shall not need to say more, but that if he could now *recente merito*, light upon anything that were to be given, he might easily obtain it.

I have seen your nephew but once since his coming from Royston, and this week he hath been abroad with the king. He told me, he was like to be sent into Spain towards the spring, with certain horses and geldings, and seemed to mislike the journey, but I encouraged him all I could, seeing it may turn to his benefit many ways.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Mrs. Alice Carleton.

December 30, 1613.

The marriage was upon Sunday,³ without any such bravery as was looked for. Only some of his⁴ followers bestowed cost upon themselves, the rest exceeded not, either in number or expenses. She⁵ was married in her hair, and led to the chapel by her bridemen, a Duke of Saxony that is here, and the Earl of Northampton, her great uncle. The Dean of Westminster⁶ preached, and bestowed a great deal of commendation on the young couple, on the Countess of Salisbury,⁷ and on the *Mother vine*, as he termed her, the Countess of Suffolk.⁸ The dean of the chapel⁹ coupled them, which fell out strangely the same man should marry the same person, in the same place, upon the self-same day, (after six or seven years, I know not whether) the former party yet living. All the difference was, that the king gave her the last time, and

¹ George Carleton, second son of Thomas Carleton, of Carleton Hall, in Cumberland, educated at Edmund Hall, in Oxford; fellow of Merton College, promoted to the Bishopric of Llandaff, in 1618, and, the year following, translated to the See of Chichester.

² Probably "Consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridensinos," printed at London, 1613, in 8vo.

³ December 26.

⁵ The Lady Frances Howard.

⁷ Sister to the bride.

⁴ The Earl of Somerset.

⁶ Dr. George Montaigne.

⁸ Catherine, daughter and co-heir to Sir Henry Knevit, of Charleton, in the county of Wilts, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Lord Rich.

⁹ Dr. James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

now her father. The king and queen were both present, and tasted wafers and hippocrass, as at ordinary weddings. I hear little or no commendation of the masque made by the lords that night, either for device or dancing, only it was rich and costly. The masquers were, the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset, and Salisbury, the Lord Walden, with his three brethren, Sir Thomas, Henry, and Sir Charles Howard; Lord Scroope,¹ Lord North, and Lord Hay. The next day, the king, prince, bridegroom, and others, ran at the ring, and yesternight there was a medley masque of five English and five Scots, which are called the high dancers, amongst whom Sergeant Boyd, one Abercrombie, and Auchternouty, that was at Padua and Venice, are esteemed the most principal and lofty, but how it succeeded I know not.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was at the marriage, but not the Bishop of London. Sir Ralph Winwood was there likewise, and had a very fair pair of gloves of three pounds' price, which he well deserved, for he made a suit of apparel against this wedding of only doublet, hose, and cloak, all black, and without any kind of gold, silver, or embroidery, that cost him above four score pounds, which I write that you may see how unreasonably things are risen here, and what a changeable world we live in. He presented a very fair basin and ewer, of 225 ounces, that was given him by the States, and of so excellent workmanship, that the goldsmiths have offered twenty shillings an ounce for it. The presents, indeed, were more in value and number than ever I think were given to any subject in this land. It were too long, neither could I, if I would, set down the tenth part; but, for a taste of all, you shall have some few that came newly to hand.

The city, the Merchant Adventurers, the East India Company, the farmers of the customs, sent all their several presents of plate to a great value, which belike was well taken, for the lord mayor and sheriffs had rich gloves sent in requital. Sir Thomas Lake gave six goodly candle-

¹ Emanuel le Scrope, eleventh baron. King James appointed him president of his council in the North, and Charles, in 1627, created him Earl of Sunderland. He died in the same year.

sticks, that cost above a thousand marks. Sir Robert Cary and Sir Robert Mansell lighted both upon an invention, which was a fire shovel, tongs, and irons, creepers, and all furniture of a chimney, of silver. Another gave a cradle of silver to burn sea coal. Sir Fulk Greville¹ gave a cup of gold; Sir Charles Wilmot, a warmingpan of gold; the Countess of Shrewsbury, a basin and ewer, two pots, and some vessel, all of gold. The Lord Coke was more moderate, for he gave but a fair basin and ewer, of silver and gilt, and his lady a cup of four score pounds' value. The Earl of Exeter² gave a basin and ewer of gold, and his lady a pot of gold. The Lord Burghley,³ his lady,⁴ and both his daughters, had very fair gloves; and yet I cannot learn that he gave anything. Belike, he thinks his father's bounty may stand for both. The Lord Admiral gave a very rich basin and ewer of gold, set with stone, that was given him by the King of Spain. The lord privy seal's present was plate to the value of £1500, besides a sword to the bridegroom, the hilts and all the furniture of gold, curiously wrought and enamelled; the very workmanship cost a hundred marks, and the sword £100. The Earl of Salisbury gave one suit of hangings, that cost his father £1500, and another suit of £800. You may guess at the rest by this scantling.

Sir William Bowyer hath lost his eldest son, Sir Henry. He was a fine dancer, and should have been of the masque, but overheating himself with practising, he fell into the smallpox and died, leaving a son and a young widow, the only daughter of Salter, one of the farmers.⁵

¹ Afterwards created Lord Brooke.

² Thomas, second Baron Burleigh, created Earl of Exeter, 1605. He died in 1622.

³ William, afterwards second Earl of Exeter. He died in 1640.

⁴ His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Drury, by whom he had three daughters, who all married earls—the second having two in succession. Elizabeth—Sir Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire; Diana—Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin; and Anne—Henry Lord Grey, Earl of Stamford.

⁵ Of the Customs.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 5, 1613-4.

I wrote somewhat the last week to your sister of this great marriage, which continues still in gallantry and triumphs, and the presents of plate and jewels increase daily; and yet I cannot learn that they rise to such a sum as was supposed, for they are not valued by the goldsmiths above £12,000. The queen gave certain silver dishes, curiously enamelled; the Spanish ambassador a jewel, they say, of £500, *if it hold good*; for the lord admiral's basin and ewer of gold, given him in Spain, is said not to prove pure metal, now it comes to the touch. Sir Arthur Ingram gave a whole furniture, or implements of a kitchen, of silver, besides two pearls, to the bride, that cost him £300. It were to little purpose to go on further in this course; and therefore I will conclude with a curious bridecake, that cost £5, given by the Bishop of Bristol's wife.

The [Irish] masquers were so well liked at court the last week, that they were appointed to perform again on Monday; yet their device, which was a mimical imitation of the Irish, was not pleasing to many, who think it no time, as the case stands, to exasperate that nation, by making it ridiculous.¹

On New Year's-day was the tilting of ten against ten. The bases, trappings, and all other furniture of the one party was murrey² and white, which were the bride's colours; the other green and yellow, for the bridegroom. There were two handsome chariots, or pageants, that brought in two Cupids, whose contention was, whether [which of the two] was the truer, his or hers, each maintained by their champions; but the current and prize, you must think, ran on her side. The whole show, they say, was very fair, and well set out. I do not readily remember all their names, nor how they were sided; but, besides

¹ See "The Irish Masque," by Ben Jonson, written throughout in a wretched gibberish—a very puerile production, unworthy of his talent.

² A dark reddish brown, which is called in heraldry *sanguine*.

the Duke of Lennox, there were the Earls of Rutland, Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset; the Lords Chandos, Scroope Compton, North, Hay, Dingwall; the Lord Walden and his brethren; Sir Henry Cary, and I know not who else, except the Lord Norris; who, when the nullity was on foot, and in forwardness, not knowing she was so well provided, made tender of himself to the lord chamberlain for his daughter, if he might be rid of his lady, which he thought an easy matter to do; but was rejected *non sine risu* of all that heard of it.

The lord mayor was sent for by the king, to entertain this new-married couple, with their friends and followers; but he making an excuse that his house was too little to receive them, it was not excepted, but word sent back, that he might command the biggest hall in the town. Whereupon, calling a council, it was resolved to do it, at the charge of the city, in the Merchant Tailors' Hall, upon four days' warning. And thither they went yesternight, about six of the clock, through Cheapside, all by torchlight, accompanied by the sister and mother of the bride, and all the lords and ladies about the court. The men were well mounted, and richly arrayed, making a goodly show; the women all in coaches. I do not hear yet how all things passed there, for I have not been abroad; only, I understand, that after supper they had a play and a masque, and after that a banquet.

The bride had a goodly new rich coach, which could not be furnished with four horses to their mind; so that Sir Ralph Winwood was moved, on Sunday night, to lend his—those, that you may remember, he had four or five years ago, and are as fair, or fairer, than ever they were. He made answer, that it was not for such a lady to use any thing borrowed; and therefore, the next morning, presented them to the great lord, who made some difficulty at first to receive them of [as] a gift, but only as lent for this solemnity going through the city; but in the end took them in very good part.

Mr. Attorney's¹ masque is for to-morrow, and for a

¹ Sir Francis Bacon.

conclusion of Christmas and these shows together, for the king will be gone towards Royston on Friday.¹

Before the holidays, the French and Venetian ambassadors were invited to the masque, with excuse that they could not be so well at the first upon the marriage-night, for avoiding of competition of place and precedence with the Spanish ambassador, who had never seen any of our shows before ; but the best masque was reserved for them. The French seemed to take it well enough ; but the Venetian [took it ill that] he should be excluded, and the archduke's admitted, who he presumed would not once make offer to take place where he was.

Sir William Constable is dead at the Brill, and his company given by the king to a Scot ; but Sir Horatio Vere had bestowed it before on a son of Sir Edward Conway's, which stands good. Mr. Trumball, though absent, is admitted clerk of the council in ordinary, by the resignation of Sir Thomas Edmondes, for which he gives him £300. Decknam is sworn master of the Requests, and made a commissioner in sale of the king's lands.

This is what I can certify that passeth here *de facto* ; but what may be, or shall be, or will be, he were a cunning man [that] could divine ; for here is such discouraging, such working, plotting, and supplanting, that what seems *right* to-day is *awry* to-morrow, and every day brings new alterations : so that they are driven to hammer and square out new projects, which, not succeeding, *mutant quadrata rotundis*, and turn the bias another way. They say it is a pleasure for a man not interested to look upon gamesters ; but, in good faith, I am so wearied with these varieties of discourse, that I think it a miserable distraction and torture both of body and mind.

I fear our good friend will be led along as others have been ; but what can he do ? *Lupum auribus tenet*—he knows not how to hold, nor how to let go ; neither does he *constare sibi* at all times, but suffers himself to be carried away from his own positions and judgment by

¹ All these honours were showered on the two individuals in the nation who possessed the least ; but the reader will presently see what advantage to them, or to the donors, was the rich gifts they had received.

some, whose wisdom, though much esteemed, *I* never admired; and who, peradventure, if they cannot have it as they would, yet can be content to have him fall into the same pit; and, for my part, I think their company and conversation have done him more harm, and hindered him more, than all the enemies he hath. He hath now changed his mind of demanding his despatch, for he is told that he stands upright; and this might mar all. The great man had some conference with him lately, touching your succeeding him, which he seconded by all the means he could; so that if matters fall out well, we hope to have you nearer, but yet refuse any means or help you may have to further it.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 5, 1613-14.

I never knew any Christmas bring forth less variety of occurrences. The world is in motion round about us, and yet we have no news. Here at home we pass on with a slow pace, and nothing fallen out worth the remembrance. They have plays at least every night, both holidays and working days, wherein they show great , being for the most part such poor stuff, that instead of delight, they send the auditory away with discontent. Indeed, our poets' brains and inventions are grown very dry, insomuch that of five new plays there is not one pleases, and therefore they are driven to furbish over their old, which stand them in best stead, and bring them most profit.¹ Tomorrow night there is a masque at court, but the common voice and preparations promise so little, that it breeds no great expectation.

We are still upon projects, and every day brings forth some new device. There was lately speech of making fifty new barons, at £6000 a-piece, but it greatly quailed; for though the world be as vain and ambitious as ever, yet money goes low, and I think they should scant have found five at that rate.

¹ Shakspeare had retired to Stratford, but his plays were acted as frequently as possible.

Now Mr. Hakewell hath a project in special request, and this day the council sit upon it, having appointed the judges and officers of the exchequer to meet upon it. The matter is a kind of general pardon of all offences, debts and duties owing to the crown, which should cost every man that takes it £5. They make account the benefit would rise to better than £400,000. But I doubt they will find themselves mistaken in the reckoning if it go forward, and that it will scant amount to a quarter of the money. Once I am sure the pardons at the king's coming in came not to the twentieth part of that sum; and it falls out usually in this kind, as with projects in chemical businesses, that it commonly goes away in smoke.

There is a gentleman of Wiltshire, commonly called the Black Oliver St. John,¹ committed for writing a letter to the town of Marlborough, where he was a neighbour, wherein he dissuaded them from giving any benevolence. A minister of Kent was likewise committed for the like occasion. And there is now one Peacham, a minister of Somersetshire, in the Tower for that and a worse quarrel, having written seditious discourses under colour of petitions to the last parliament, and presenting some of them at that time to Sir Maurice Berkley and Mr. Paulet, that were knights for that shire, but whether they read them or were made privy to the contents, is the question.

Yesterday, Alabaster,² the double or treble turncoat, preached before the king at Whitehall, where there many clergymen that do not greatly applaud him, but say he made a curious fantastical piece of work.

Sir Walter Raleigh's book³ is called in by the king's commandment for divers exceptions, but especially for being too saucy in censuring princes. I hear he takes it much to heart, for he thought he had won his spurs and pleased the king extraordinarily.

Sir Edward Hoby presented the king on New-year's day with his book against one Flood, a papist, that had

¹ He will be heard of again.

² William Alabaster, afterwards D.D. and rector of Therfield, in Huntingdonshire.

³ "History of the World," which had been published on the 29th of March, 1614. *Camdeni Annales Regis.*

answered his writings and used him rudely, and therefore entitles his book, "A Currycomb for a Coxcomb."

It is whispered abroad that your Don Diego's master¹ gave very malignant intelligence of the Lord of Arundel's² being at Rome, and of his entertainment and conversation there, which, being related to the king by the Ar,³ that had the advertisement, he was put to his answer, and gave very good satisfaction. Clement Edmondes is to go this day towards Holland, about the employment I wrote you of the merchants' business. Sir Harry Wotton, as it seems, makes no great haste thence, but would be content to tarry by it. In the mean time, here be one or two intriguing for the place, especially le Sieur, who follows it hard, and claims a kind of promise of the king. But I hope he shall go without.

I saw not our good friend since Friday last, when he told me thus much, and withal, that he had speech with his majesty about your coming thither, and that you could there do him best service, which he said he believed well. But I perceive there will be no removing till the business of Savoy be better settled. I pray God your friends you most rely on, stick as well to you and play you not a trick of trust, which I speak not as knowing or mistrusting any thing, but only upon daily trial and experience that they are fast and firm nowhere, and therefore wish you not *spem pretio emere*, to buy fair words and promises too dear, nor to depend too much upon their fickle [promises] and fortunes.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Mrs. Alice Carleton.

London, February 1, 1614.

Mr. Secretary went on Monday toward the king at Newmarket in as hard and cold weather as hath come this year, for it hath been very sharp these ten days, with much frost and snow, which continuing still, and so is like to do, for aught I see. The Thames hath not been passable, but in a manner closed up almost this sevensnight. The flood I

¹ Lord Roos.

² Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel, the collector of the antiquities.

³ Archbishop.

wrote you of last week, did a great deal more harm than I could then tell you, for we have certain notice of more than twenty drowned that Saturday within forty miles compass of this town.

Other news here is none at all, but that the lord chancellor hath been these seven or eight days very sick, and so continues. Yet I heard yesterday that he was somewhat amended. His lady¹ says she shall lose her character, and makes a question whether she should incline to marry again, but if she did she would willingly do it so that she might have no more children, whereof methinks there is like to be no danger, for I have heard your mother² did christen her a fair while before any of you were born.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 9, 1614.

With your letter of the 5th of January I received the jewels, and have delivered the fairest to your brother William, to present to the Lady Rich, and draw on the payment of your £20. For, besides my speaking, he hath been at Sir Harry divers times for it, and hitherto hath nothing but words. Now upon this occasion he shall have opportunity to be more opportune, and I would wish him not to give with the one hand unless he received with the other. The truth is, both Sir William Cope and he have their full burthen both of Sir Walter Cope's debts and their own; and I hear Sir Henry hath already offered his land in Great St. Bartholomew's, which is now better than £700 per annum, to sale, as likewise the house at Kensington, with all that belongs to it; and Sir William Cope, besides much other good land of his own, doth the like for Brown, which is somewhat a strange course to sell their own for other men's debts. But Sir William Cope hath an extraordinary confidence of his own wit and dex-

¹ Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorp, in Northamptonshire, and widow of Ferdinand Earl of Derby.

² Joyce, sixth daughter of John Goodwin, in Winchendon, in Bucks, Esq., married first to Robert Sanders, of Flore, in Northamptonshire, Esq., and next to George Carleton, Esq., father to Sir Dudley.

terity, though some wise men say, that he hath undertaken a business, which if he look not the better to it, may chance break his back. I come little among them, but only to procure mine own, wherein hitherto I prevail no further than to be sent away with fair promises.

I was drawn the last week for a day or two to Knebworth, where I took small comfort to see so good a friend¹ and such a spirit, in the case that he is become *bis puer*. In truth, it was a pitiful and mortifying spectacle, and did affect me extremely, but God's will must be done.

The old Earl of Kent² died the last week, and his brother,³ almost as old, succeeds him, after whom, if his son hath no issue, as hitherto he hath not, the earldom descends to one Grey, a minister.⁴

Ned Winwood hath been in the Friars now a good while, and is hardly got out without scratching. The matter was, that he or Sir Francis Vane,⁵ or both (for they bewray one another), gave advertisement to Sir Antony Mildmay that Sir Edward Montagu had given disrespectful words of him to the lord treasurer. Whereupon, Sir Antony sent him a braving letter, with the lie in the throat, and other contumelious speeches. Which being complained of to the council, and the Montagus following it hard, it was ordered to be brought into the Star Chamber, and Sir Antony sent for to appear at the council-table. But he held out the sending of two pursuivants with the colour of extreme sickness, and, in the mean time, hath made his peace with the Montagus, with a very demiss submission, and pacifies the rest by all the means and friends he can. His cause and theirs was the worse, for that it falls out to be utterly false that Sir Edward Montagu had given any occasion or shadow of offence.

¹ Sir Rowland Lytton.

² Henry, who was interred at Flitton, in Bedfordshire, 16th March, 1614-15: his funeral sermon being preached by J.B., D.D., and printed at London, 1615, in 4to., by which it appears that the earl was seventy-four years of age, when he died, and that in the former part of his life, being a younger brother, he had been compelled by necessity to serve in a noble family, but was afterwards preferred to the service of Queen Elizabeth.

³ Charles.

⁴ Anthony, rector of Burbage, in Leicestershire.

⁵ Or Fane. He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King James, and on the 26th December, 1624, Earl of Westmoreland. He married Mary, the daughter of Sir Antony Mildmay, of Apethorp, in Northamptonshire.

Sir Henry Neville, in recompense for all that is past, or that he was to look for hereafter, was in hand long with a kind of informing suit for the spoil of woods, which might have been worth a good value to him. And having now brought it to that pass, that it was, as it were, hatched and ready to disclose, it is utterly crushed, and all his hopes at an end. Which is but a bad medicine for a man that hath at this instant three dangerous diseases upon him, that is, the jaundice, the scorbut, and a dropsy, which have brought him to a very weak case, and will utterly overthrow him, if he find not present remedy.

Mr. Secretary came yesternight from Newmarket in a day, which was a sore journey, as the ways are, being at least fifty-four miles. He told me he could not write to you this week, for that he was to go this morning to the Spanish ambassador to salve somewhat.

It was expected that Oliver St. John should be brought to-morrow to the Star Chamber, for departing his neighbours from the benevolence, both by word and writing, wherein he used certain scandalous passages and subject to hard construction, but I perceive by him that it is deferred.

Peacham, the minister, is like to taste of another cup. He hath been stretched already, though he be an old man, and they say much above three score; but they could wring nothing out of him more than they had at first in his papers. Yet the king is extremely incensed against him, and will have him prosecuted to the uttermost.¹

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Mrs. Alice Carleton.

London, February 16, 1614.

Yesterday I received your letter of the 29th of January. It is no marvel if the post keeps not their ordinary days and times, for we have had such weather that I think they had much ado to come at all. Ever since Sunday was three weeks we have had continual frost and snow, whereof we have had such plenty as I never knew the like; for

¹ That is to say, *tortured* to the utmost, which had already been tried in the stretching process, though the poor man was "much above three score."

there hath not passed one day since that time but it hath snowed more or less, and Sunday last it began at seven o'clock in the morning, and never ceased till Monday after nine at night; so that it lay very deep, and we fear we shall hear of much harm. But the greatest part of it went away on Tuesday and yesterday with a kindly thaw, but this night it is frozen again, and grown very cold.

The Lady Beauchamp, sister to the Earl of Dorset, and wife to the Earl of Hertford's grandchild, is brought a-bed of a son, and I hear the like of the Lady Haddington, daughter to the Earl of Sussex. Sir Edward Montagu's young lady brought him a son likewise of late, but it lasted not above two or three days. Mrs. Bartlett, Mr. Conyer's daughter, lies in now of a son at Highgate.

The Lady Cheke,¹ Mr. Osborne's sister, of the Exchequer, would needs be let blood the last week, for a little heat or itching in her arm, but by mishap the queen's surgeon pricked her too deep, and cut an artery, which fell to rankle, and in a few days grew to a gangrene, whereof she died on Saturday, and was buried by night, with above thirty coaches and much torchlight attending her, which is of late come much into fashion, as it should seem, to avoid trouble and charge. But I rather think it was brought up by papists, which serve their turn by it many ways. She left no children, nor ever had any; so that it is thought her husband, Sir Thomas, will not be long unprovided of a new lady,² for that his land, for want of heirs male, is to return to the crown, and some Scot or other hath begged the reversion.

Touching the Lady Edmondes's³ body, I know not whether it be yet come over, but I am sure he wrote to her mother to know where she would have it buried, yet giving his advice that he thought it best at Cambridge, as next to the place where it was to arrive. Whereunto the Lady Wood assented; so that it is done, or to be done there, without any solemnity.

¹ Wife of Sir Thomas Cheke, grandson of Sir John Cheke, tutor to King Edward VI. She was the daughter of Peter Osborne, Esq.

² Sir Thomas Cheke married afterwards Essex, daughter of Robert Lord Rich, Earl of Warwick, by whom he had several children.

³ The wife of Sir Thomas Edmondes, ambassador in France. She died at Paris.

Sir George Haywood, the Lady Scott's son by old Rowland, is fallen mad. The Lord of Somerset hath the government and custody of his land till he recover. His friends make all the means they can by physic to cure him, whereof there is the less hope, for that he hath a sister married to Sir Richard Sandys, now in the same case, and much about a year since was well recovered, but within this month fallen into a relapse. I never in my life heard of so many distracted people of good sort, as I have done within these two or three years.

Your neighbour, Bruckshaw, hath lain this month or five weeks in the Marshalsea, with six or seven of his companion brewers, for that they will not yield to have their drink taken to serve the king without money; for the king's brewer cannot get a groat of £16,000 that is owing to him for beer; so that he hath neither money nor credit to hold out any longer. This term they attempted by law to remove themselves and to try their case; but they could not be relieved, for that there came a mandate from the king, whereby it is become a matter of state, and out of the compass of law.¹

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 2, 1614.

Your journey to Turin, and your negotiating there, hath our good wishes, both for the general good, and for your particular, wherein I would you might be as fortunate as some of your friends have been before you. But we say here that matters are so exasperated, that it will be hard to sweeten them, and the weaker side so exhausted, that he can neither greatly hurt his enemies nor pleasure his friends. So that, upon such unequal terms, there can be no equal conclusion expected, specially those that wish well to the cause, being so faint and far off that they can afford little furtherance. Yet, if it please God to send success, their honour shall be the more and their dexterity

¹ A very creditable matter of state, certainly! The king cannot pay his brewers, and because they will not serve him without payment, when he is indebted to them £16,000, they are to be kept in prison without prospect of assistance from the law.

shine the brighter, that shall handsomely join such disjointed pieces.

The king went not home till Monday last, intreated from day to day to stay his journey, and in a manner compelled by multitude of business to tarry. He means to be at Cambridge the 7th of this month. And though I am no way furnished nor greatly willing to appear in such assemblies, yet I have been so much persuaded by my Lord of Ely and Mr. Secretary, that though I was loth to trouble either of them, yet I have half yielded to Sir Christopher Hatton,¹ that doth promise all manner of commodities.

Peacham's trial at the western assizes is put off and his journey stayed, though Sir Randall Crewe, the king's sergeant, and Sir Henry Yelverton, the solicitor, were ready to go to horse to have waited on him there. On Sunday, he was at the court confronted with Sir John Sydenham about certain speeches heretofore passed between them; and Mr. Paulet and some of his men are sent for upon the like occasion. But for aught I can learn, there is no great likelihood of doing more than there was toward Sir Maurice Berkley, and a minister or two of that county, that were likewise called in question and have reasonably acquitted themselves, the matter falling out to be of small moment.

Mr. Hakewell's pardons have danced so long backward and forward that it seems they are now at length quite dashed. For it doth not probably appear that they will be of value or raise any great sum, though they should be rated double or treble in number and proportion to those granted at the king's coming in. Yet to keep us in breath, there is now another project in speech, that whereas in the tenth year of the late queen there was decree made by the earl marshal and that court, that no arms should be given thenceforward without their allowance and consent, contrary whereunto the heralds since that time are said to have dispensed above one thousand coats, it is propounded

¹ Made knight of the Bath at the coronation of James I. He married Alice, daughter of Thomas Fanshaw, of Ware Park, in Hertfordshire, and died 11th September, 1619.

that all these should be disarmed or ungentilified, unless they will give twenty or thirty pounds for confirmation of their gentry.

But in the mean time, while this grass grows, the horse starves, and here is pitiful complaint on all sides for want of payment, especially those that deal for ambassadors. Mr. Secretary spoke earnestly of late to the lord treasurer and Mr. Chancellor, in their behalf, and hath a promise that all shall be discharged by our Lady-day, *favxit Deus*.

I had almost forgotten our greatest news: Sir Arthur Ingram was sworn [chamberlain] of the king's household, which was carried so close that it was not vented till the very instant. But the suddenness did no way better the cause, but rather put all into such a combustion, that the officers of the green cloth excepted mainly against it, and produced the king's promise and hand to the contrary, whereby he assured that these places should pass orderly and in succession. But say what they would, he was sworn in the presence of the lord treasurer, Admiral Chamberlain, Knollys, and Wotton having agreed with old Sir [Thomas] Verney to resign his place to him in consideration of £1500 ready money, £600 a-year during his life, and £200 a-year to his wife after his death.

But the storm was not so soon pacified, for all the officers in court, even to the black guard, seemed to take it to heart that such an indignity should be offered, and such a scandalous fellow set over them as they point him out to be. Whereupon the green cloth and some others pressed to the king and had audience, where they behaved themselves very boldly, or rather malapertly, toward some lords that were present, specially Sir Robert Banister and Murray, who told the king, that it should have been less grievous to them, if he had sent a warrant to hang them at the court gate, than he should dishonour himself and go from his hand and word. The king gave them good words and gracious, assuring them that he did not remember what had passed, but that all should be redressed. They made the like instance the next day, and at the king's parting, and had the same promise, but that the king would take his own time.

The lord chamberlain promised that as he had been an instrument to do them wrong, so he would do them right. They got the queen likewise and the prince on their side, who told his father that there was discontentment enough otherwise, and that it were pity for one man or cause to bring a general discontentment into his own house. But for all this he was established in his place on Tuesday by the Lords Knollys and Wotton, where none of the other officers would be present; so that I am of opinion that for all this contradiction he will not be so easily removed as most men imagine, and you know your proverb that *chi ha tempe, ha vita*. But sure, all things considered, I think that both he and his abettors had been better to have let it alone, for they undergo a public obloquy and disgrace in respect of the subject, and have done the king nor themselves no honour in making such a choice. But *viderit utilitas*, and that is the end of all these reckonings.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 3, 1613-14.

It seems by your letter of the 4th of the last, that you have advertisement of a successor to supply the place you are in. I have both before and since made all the inquiry I could, and can find no ground of any fresh report. Only I have heard Mr. Calvert named, but when the question is asked him, he doth utterly renounce any such intention in himself, or that any for him hath made any such motion; and I do the rather believe him, for that it is not likely he should affect such a journey, being reasonably well settled at home, and having a wife and many children, which are no easy carriage, specially so far. But we have here so little business and so many busy bodies, that we are fain to find work by discourse, and no doubt there be some that are so well persuaded of their own abilities that they long for employment. And amongst the rest I have heard that Sir Dudley Diggs doth *omnem movere lapidem* to be in doings, but I think he doth not aim so far, but would be nearer home. But when all is done, it is not *volentis nec currentis*, but in their hands who sit at the

helm, and are not so flexible as to condescend to every demand.

Wherefore I would wish you not so much give ear to flying bruits, unless they be confirmed from good place. For I can assure you, there is scant any resolution so firm here, but that it may alter once in four and twenty hours, and there is no man but one so near that knows any thing of secret, but all things are carried *in secreto pictoris* between them two.

Touching the Fabricians,¹ it skills not what they say or write, for they stand but aloof, and are of the most that know least; and surely their employments go but slowly forward, and is more but an even wager whether either of them, for all this forwardness, shall enjoy the place they pretend. Touching our friend,² I know he must follow the stream, and, now that he is embarked, be governed by the pilot to whom he hath committed himself; and all my drift is, that he should not be too confident, nor presume beyond reason and experience of others, who have run upon the same rock.

But now we are almost out of the maze we have trodden all this while, and are come to dance in another circle, I mean the parliament, before the beginning whereof, if nothing done, *spes et fortuna valete*. The truth is, there is greater opposition than was to be looked for, so that if his conductor be not *vir cordatus*, and carry it constantly, we are like to be overthrown, horse and foot; and surely, in my opinion, it concerns the one as much as the other, considering how things have passed. But the worst is, things are come to that point, that we must now be *Cæsar aut nihil*; and yet, if the best come that can be expected, I doubt we shall find that we are not so much risen as the place fallen.

Here is much bustling for places in parliament, and letters fly from great personages extraordinarily, wherein, methinks, they do the king no great service, seeing the world is apt to conceive it is a kind of packing.

Upon Tuesday, the city chose Sir Thomas Low for their

¹ Sir Henry Wotton and his nephew, Albertus Morton.

² Sir Ralph Winwood.

knight, but will in nowise hitherto admit Mr. Recorder,¹ alleging only that he is the king's sergeant. Mr. Fuller² is their first burgess, whose choice is as much subject to interpretation as the refusal of the other. There is much canvassing in other places, as Kent, where Sir Peter Manwood is almost assured to be first; and Sir Francis Walsingham means to juggle with Sir Edwin Sandys for second.

The Lord Harrington died on Sunday of the smallpox, leaving two-thirds of his estate to the Lady of Bedford,³ the rest to his younger sister, the Lady Chichester, but charged with almost £4000 debt. This hath been a fatal year to that family, having taken away Sir Henry and Sir James (all the brethren were lost), besides the two lords, which are both much lamented, specially the latter.

The Lady Burghley and two of her daughters lie sick of the same disease. The elder, upon her recovery, is to be married to Sir Thomas Howard, to whom the lord chamberlain assures £3000 land, and a fair house in Wiltshire; besides, he hath the keeping and command of a goodly forest of the king's in that county. The reversion of the treasurership of the chamber, after the Lord Stanhope, is likewise, they say, of the past fines, under the Lord Knollys; and no portion is stood upon, or demanded, but whatsoever her friends please to give her shall be at her own disposal. The Lord Walden is much pleased at the match as his brother; and he the Lord Hay and Sir Henry Rich are so enamoured of that company, that they forbear not to visit them daily, without regard of wives or children, as if no — could take hold of them.

On Monday the Lord Fitzwalter⁴ married Sir Michael Stanhope's elder daughter, with assurance of £2000; and because they are both young (she not above twelve years old), he goes shortly to travel.

Sir Thomas Edmondes went on Monday toward the king, who lay this last night at Chesterford Park, where the Lord of Somerset keeps his lady, and comes this day to Theobalds, and this afternoon by his deputy, the Earl

¹ Sir Henry Montagu.

² Nicholas Fuller.

³ Lucy, his sister.

⁴ Henry, eldest son of Robert Ratcliffe, fifth Earl of Essex.

of Pembroke, together with the lord chamberlain and the Lady Lisle, christens Sir Robert Wroth's son.

Yesterday I went a journey with Sir Ralph Winwood and his lady, to see a house they have taken at Thistleworth,¹ for which they pay £56 a-year, having nothing but a reasonable, convenient house, with a handsome garden and orchard. For my part, I should have thought half the money a more indifferent rent; but they are willing to have a retiring place, and give the more for Dr. Burges's neighbourhood.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 16, 1614.

I am newly returned from Cambridge, whither I went some two days after I wrote you my last. The king made his entry there the 12th of this present, with as much solemnity, and concourse of gallants, and great men, as the hard weather and extremely foul ways would permit. The prince came along with him, but not the queen, by reason, as it said, that she was not invited; which error is rather imputed to their chancellor² than to the scholars, that understand not these courses. Another defect was, that there were no ambassadors, which no doubt was upon the same reason. But the absence of women may be the better excused for default of language, there being few or none present but of the Howards, or that alliance: as the Countess of Arundel, with her sister, the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Countess of Suffolk, with her daughters of Salisbury and Somerset; the Lady Walden, and Henry Howard's wife, which are all that I remember.

The lord treasurer kept there a great port and magnificent table, with the expense of £1000 a day, as is said, but that seems too large an allowance. But sure his provisions were very great, besides plenty of presents, and may be in some part estimated by his proportion of wine, whereof he spent twenty-six tun in five days. He lodged and kept his table at St. John's College, but his lady and her retinue at Magdalen College, whereof his grandfather

¹ Query, Isleworth.

² The Earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer.

Audley was founder. The king and prince lay at Trinity College, where the plays were represented, and the hall so well ordered for room, that above two thousand persons were conveniently placed.

The first night's entertainment was a comedy, made and acted by St. John's men, the chief part consisting of a counterfeit Sir Edward Radcliffe, a foolish doctor of physic, which proved but a lean argument; and though it were larded with pretty shows at the beginning and end, and with somewhat too broad speech for such a presence, yet it was still dry.

The second night¹ was a comedy of Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other houses, wherein David Drummond, on a hobby-horse, and Brakin, the recorder of the town, under the name of Ignoramus,² a common lawyer, bore great parts. The thing was full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors; among whom the Lord Compton's son,³ though least, yet was not worst, but more than half marred by extreme length.

The third night was an English comedy, called "Albuzmazar,"⁴ of Trinity College's action and invention,⁵ but there was no great matter in it more than one good clown's part. The last night was a Latin pastoral of the same houses, excellently well written, and as well acted, which gave great contentment, as well to the king as to all the rest.

Now, this being the state of their plays, their acts and disputations fell out much after the same manner; for the Divinity act was performed reasonably well, but not answerable to expectation. The Law and Physic acts stark naught; but the Philosophy act made amends, and, indeed, was very excellent; insomuch, that the Bishop of Ely sent the moderator, the answerer, the varier, or prevaricator, and one of the repliers, that were all of his house,⁶ twenty angels a-piece.

¹ March 8.

² Written by Thomas Ruggles, M.A., of Clare Hall.

³ Spencer Compton, born in May, 1601; made, in 1616, one of the Knights of the Bath; and in June, 1630, succeeded his father as Earl of Northampton. He was killed March 19, 1642-3, in an engagement at Hopton Heath, in Staffordshire.

⁴ It is reprinted in Dodsley's *Collection of Old Plays*, vol. ix.

⁵ It was taken from an Italian comedy.

⁶ Pembroke Hall.

Now, for orations and *lexiones ad clerum*, I heard not many; but those I did, were extraordinary, and the better for that they were short. The University orator, Nethersole,¹ though he be a proper man, and thinks well of himself, yet he is taxed for calling the prince *Jacobissime Carole*, and some will needs add, that he called him *Jacobule*, too, which neither pleased the king nor anybody else. But sure the king was exceedingly pleased many times, both at the plays and disputations; for I had the hap for the most time to be within hearing, and often at his meals, he would express as much. He visited all the colleges, save two or three, and commends them beyond Oxford. Yet I am not so partial, but therein I must crave pardon not to be of his opinion.

Though I endured a great deal of penance by the way for this little pleasure, I would not have missed it, for that I see thereby the partiality of both sides, the Cambridge men pleasing and applauding themselves, and the Oxford men as fast condemning and detracting all that was done, wherein yet I commend Corbet's² modesty while he was there, who being seriously dealt withal by some friends to say what he thought, answered, that he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came thither only to commend.

Paul Thompson, the gold clipper, hath his pardon, and not only so, but is absolved *à pœná et culpá*, whereby he keeps his livings, and never came to trial. And I heard he had the face to appear in the town whilst the king was there.

Sir Arthur Ingram is in a sort of *désarçonné*; for Sir Marmaduke Dayrell is appointed to keep the table, and to discharge the business of the coffer, and he only to retain the name till Michaelmas, that the accounts may be made up, and, in the mean time, order taken that he may be reimbursed of such moneys as he hath lawfully laid out, or can challenge in this cause.

I had almost forgotten that almost all the courtiers

¹ Francis, afterwards knighted, and secretary to the Queen of Bohemia.

² Richard Corbet, afterwards dean of Christchurch, and successively bishop of Oxford and Norwich.

sent forth masters of arts at the king's being there, but few or no doctors, saving Young,¹ which was done by a mandate, being son to Sir Peter, the king's schoolmaster. The vice-chancellor and University were exceedingly strict in that point, and refused many importunities of great men, among whom was Mr. Secretary, that made great means for Mr. Westfield.² But it would not be, neither the king's entreaty for John Donne³ would prevail. Yet they are threatened with a mandate, which, if it come up, it is like they will obey; but they are resolved to give him such a blow withal, that he were better be without it. Indeed, the Bishop of Chichester, vice-chancellor, hath been very stiff, and carried himself very peremptorily that way, wherein he is not much to be blamed, being a matter of more consequence than at first sight was imagined. He did his part every way, as well in moderating the Divinity act, as in taking the great pains in all other things, and keeping exceedingly great cheer. I have sent you the questions in brief; for, otherwise, they would bear too great a bulk.

[The names of the actors in "Ignoramus," mentioned at p. 304, with the parts they acted, are as follows, taken from a manuscript copy of the play, which had belonged to Archbishop Sancroft, now in Emanuel College, Cambridge, corrected and supplied from three other MS. copies, and from the printed edition in 1658, and compared with another MS. copy in Clare Hall, possibly the author's copy, though not in his hand, by Thomas Baker, B.D., among his MS. in the Harleian Library in the British Museum, vol. 7042, p. 479.

Theodorus (Mercator), Senex—Mr. Hutchinson, of Clare Hall.

Antonius (fil. Theodori), Juvenis—Mr. (afterwards) Lord Holles, of Christ's College.

¹ Patrick Young, afterwards library keeper to the king.

² Thomas Westfield, B.D., who became rector of Great St. Bartholomew, December 18, 1603, and was afterwards rector of Hornsey, and archdeacon of St. Albans, and in 1611 made bishop of Bristol.

³ Mr. Isaac Walton appears from hence to be mistaken in his "Life of Dr. Donne," p. 41, 4th edit., where he says, that Mr. Donne attending his majesty at Cambridge, his majesty was pleased to recommend him to the university to be made doctor of divinity. Dr. Haisnet, afterwards archbishop of York, was then vice-chancellor, who knowing him to be the author of that learned book, the *Pseudo Martyr*, required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the university, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs.

Ignoramus (Anglus Causidicus)—Mr. Perkinson, of Clare Hall.

<i>Dulmar</i>	} Clerici	{	Mr. Towers, of Queen's College, afterwards bishop of
<i>Musæus</i>			Peterborough.
<i>Pecus</i>			Mr. Perient, of Clare Hall.
			Mr. Parker, of Clare Hall.

Torcol (Portugallus Leno)—Mr. Bargrave, of Clare Hall, afterwards dean of Canterbury.

Rosabella (Virgo), Mr. Morgan, of Queen's College.

Surda (Nana Ancilla), Mr. Compton, of Queen's College, afterwards Earl of Northampton.

Trico (Theodori Servus)—Mr. Lake, of Clare Hall.

Bauacar (Theodori Servus), Maurus—Mr. Love, of Clare Hall.

Cupis (Bibliopola Parasitus)—Mr. Mason, of Pembroke Hall.

Polla (Cupis Uxor), Mr. Cheshum, of Clare Hall.

Colla (Monachus frater.)—Mr. Wake, of Gonvil and Caius College.

Dorothea (Uxor Theodori Mationa)—Mr. Norfolk, of Queen's College.

Vince (Puer Dorotheæ)—Mr. Compton, of Queen's College.

Nell (Ancilla Dorotheæ)—Mr. Turner of Clare Hall.

Richardus (Theodori Servus), Mr. Grame, of Clare Hall.

Pyropus (Vestiarus), Mr. Wake, of Gonvil and Caius College.

Fidicea vel Tibicea, Mr. Rinnarde, of Clare Hall.

<i>Nautee</i>	}	(Gallicus), Mr. Thorogood, of Clare Hall.
		(Anglicus), Mr. Mason, of Pembroke.

Caupo, Mr. Thorogood, of Clare Hall]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 7, 1614.

On Tuesday, this 5th of the present, the king, prince, and lords, rode in their robes to the parliament. There were many rich footcloths, especially that of the king and prince; but the day proving very foul, it marred much of the show. The Duke of Lennox carried the marshal's rod, or staff; the Earl of Shrewsbury the cap of maintenance; and the Earl of Derby¹ the sword. The Earl of Somerset supplied the place of master of the horse, because the Earl of Worcester was, or would be sick; so that he hath already the possession of that office, as it were, by anticipation. I write you these petty particulars, that you may know how these new English peers were placed. The king made a long and excellent speech, consisting of three principal parts wherein all his care lay—to continue to his subjects *bona animi, bona corporis, et bona fortunæ*, by maintaining religion, preserving of peace, and seeking their prosperity, by increasing of trades and traffics. He made very fair promises, and that he would not press them beyond their own good will.² In conclusion,

¹ William, sixth earl. He died in 1642.

² The Commons were now well aware of the value of these assurances.

he wished they might not be strangers, but that they would have recourse to him in all their business, at whose hands they should always find easy audience and gracious usage; and so dismissed them to choose their speaker, whom they are to present this afternoon, and the morrow he will speak to them again in the banqueting house.

Randolph Crewe was chosen speaker without any contradiction, being nominated and recommended by Mr. Secretary, who made a fit speech for that purpose, which I have heard generally well allowed and his assurance commended, only the manner of the delivery was somewhat strange, being in a kind of academical tune. But he is to be excused, having such a disadvantage that the first that ever he heard speak in that place was himself. You must think he had need walk warily, having all men's eyes upon him, all ears open, and being set, as it were, a butt for all detracting tongues to shoot at. And indeed he is followed with the same malignity that opposed him at first; so that unless he carry it constantly and temperately, and be constantly supported by his founders, he is but in a hard case. But I cannot think but they will make good their own work, though it be publicly bruited that he hath the place upon bare conditions as not to have seals, nor to open packets. For the former, I know not what to say; but time will show more. For the latter, I am sure it is false, for he doth it daily; but I am still of my old opinion that he must pass the fiery trial of this parliament before we shall be able to discern what to judge, and if that hit not right, then as good never a whit, as never the better, but I hope the best, though the beginnings be difficult. He hath yet no lodging in court, but put off from day to day. Sir John Herbert¹ and he have had some little bustling for place, and Sir Julius Cæsar, but he hath carried it from them both; Sir Thomas Edmondes bears it better than I looked for, only he is content to hear and believe the worst.

The returns of knights for divers shires prove every day more litigious. Sir Henry Waller hath his parties already in the Star Chamber. Young Sir John Cutts and Sir

¹ Formerly second secretary.

Thomas Chichely have carried it in Cambridgeshire, but with such clamour and complaint that I know not how they will hold it. And yesterday came the news that Sir Maurice Berkley and Mr. Pawlet have done the like in Somersetshire, contrary to the master of the Rolls, and most men's expectation. But there be so great threats that they shall not go away with it so, and that there will be nullities or invalidity found in the proceeding. I send you the copy of a letter sent Sir Maurice Berkley by the master of the Rolls, whereby you may discern of his spirit and courage, but they say it is much sweetened from that it should have been.

I hear that Dr. Ovenden, of All Souls' College, is dead, as likewise Dr. Spencer, of Corpus Christi College, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, died last week at Oxford, and Downall, some time the lord chancellor's secretary and now master of the Chancery.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 12, 1614.

Mr. Secretary doth supply what is wanting on my part, and doth promise that henceforth every fortnight you shall be advertised how the world goes here, as likewise that he will have care of procuring your entertainment from time to time, and bid me wish Mr. Williams to repair to him when there is cause. The offer is fair, howsoever it can be performed; for I assure you the sanctum of your means is drawn so dry that, whosoever hath occasion to drink there, is like to tarry till he be athirst.

Whensoever the king is abroad, he¹ makes a step home, so that we have enjoyed him these two nights together, which is more, as he says, than he did since his settling at court. The first night, there was much company, but he bespoke me for the next, and, by good hap, we were hand to hand; and, when he received your letters of the 22nd of April, he had written and delivered the enclosed before he received yours. He says he hath saved me the labour of writing to you Sir Thomas Parry's misfortune. Whereof no

¹ Secretary Winwood.

man could inform you better than himself ; as being made the mouth to lay more load of disgrace upon him by pronouncing suspension of his place.¹ Will Fanshawe not long since became his auditor under colour of kindness, and excusing, laid him more open, and betrayed him and his courses worse than those that spoke most bitterly against him. But the best is he is grown so dull and stupid, that unless this awake him, he is thought scant sensible of any thing that befalls or concerns him. But he goes not away with this affront alone, for Sir Walter Cope, Sir Henry Wallop, and my nephew, Sir John, have their part, being discharged the House, and a new writ gone down for another election.

The House is full of business and many irons in the fire, but yet we see no great matter despatched, for hitherto they have been much troubled with disputes about elections and privileges, about impositions (which though it be a string should be tenderly touched, yet they make it speak loud²), but especially about undertakers, wherein Sir Walter Chute did a very charitable deed, by undertaking and offering to undergo the envy of all, and so accusing himself, offered this enclosed writing to their consideration, whereas, poor man ! nobody thought him worth the suspecting. Mr. Secretary has gotten good reputation by speaking against recusants and idle churchmen. But what he hath gotten one way he hath lost another, for the bishops have him in conceit of a Puritan.

Some beagles have Sir Lionel Cranfield in chase, and Spiller and many more hares are afoot ; but it falls out many times that too much game mars the sport. In the mean time, the king hath a great deal of patience, and made his third speech to them the last week, requiring they would fall in hand with the main business of his wants. And indeed I could wish they would not stand too stiff, but take some moderate course to supply him by ordinary means, lest he be driven to ways of worse consequence, wherein he shall not want colour both from law and pulpit. On Monday, four or five Irish knights were committed, one to the Tower, the rest to other prisons, for some ma-

¹ Chancellor of the Duchy.

² It was high time.

lapert petition, or somewhat of that nature. Sir Thomas Gates is come from Virginia, and brings word that plantation will fall to the ground, if it be not presently supplied. He speaks of wonderful commodities that are to be had there, if we could have the patience and would be at the cost to bring them to perfection.

There hath been a brawl fallen out lately at Flushing among our captains, wherein Sir Michael Everard, sergeant-major, struck Sir John Throckmorton, lieutenant-governor, and, being convented, would not come till he was fetched with five hundred men. He married an heir, one Meg Steward, a fair, ill-favoured piece, who is come over to solicit his cause, and finds so great friends that he is like to be delivered and sent for home.

I hear Sir Thomas Edmondes is still in town. I will see him, God willing, at my first leisure. Sir John Digby is likewise lately come over, so that upon the matter the king hath no ambassador abroad but yourself.

I cannot yet learn who is to go into Holland. Mr. Calvert is in speech; but Mr. Secretary thinks it will be between Sir Dudley Digges and his¹ cousin Naunton, who works not by him, but by a contrary course, and such as I thought the other would have taken, but that there hath been a crack of late among them.

Albertus Morton is gone at last to the Duke of Savoy, but I think he shall not continue there long. His uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, was with us in Easter week, at Ware Park. He builds upon his employment for France, when, as God knows, how long he may linger after it. Having Mr. Pory's discourse there with me, and making some mention of it by chance, he was child till he had seen it; and though I made it somewhat dainty, I meant to choke him with it, and indeed it put him to silence all the day after. Touching the printing of it, you need not doubt, for there was never any such purpose, but only spoken merrily.

For Knevet, I know nothing of him as yet, but will learn what I can when I have more leisure.

¹ Secretary Winwood's.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 26, 1614.

I wrote to you the last week how busy our parliament was about impositions, wherein there hath been since much said *pro et contra*. Among the rest, Sir Henry Wotton made a very mannerly and demure speech for the maintenance of them, alleging Spain, France, and Italy for example; in which argument he was seconded by Mr. Secretary and Sir Thomas Lake, with confirmation of his particular in France, how many millions the impost of salt amounted to. But it was replied, that we were to be governed by our own laws, not by foreign example; and that these exactions were rather *de facto* than *de jure*, as might easily be gathered by their histories; and that they came to their height, as they have seldom or never had any parliament or assemblies; and for Italy, there was no other consideration to be had of them than as of petty tyrannies, rather than just principalities. Sir Edwyn Sandys went further, and was more bitter in the conclusions of his speech.

But the boldest Bayard of all was Wentworth,¹ who said that the just reward of the Spaniards' imposition was the loss of the Low Countries; and for France, that their late most exalting kings died like calves upon the butcher's knife; and that such princes might read their destiny in the 45th of Ezekiel, verse 7, or thereabouts, but specially in Daniel, the 11th chapter, verse 20. It were too long to relate all the passage; but, in conclusion, on Saturday they sent a message to the Lords, to desire a conference in this cause. On Monday it was moved in the Upper House, and after much debating resolved, as it seems (for there is yet nothing certified), not to confer; for upon the numbering of votes there were only thirty lords for it, and thirty-nine directly against it: the whole stream of bishops (excepting the Archbishop of York) going that way, together with the two Scottish English peers, and some

¹ Thomas Wentworth, Esq., recorder of the city of Oxford, was member for that city in this parliament. See Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, p. 172.

sixteen English, or thereabouts. This refusal is like to breed no good blood; and yesterday there was a new coal kindled, that if it be not sooner quenched may burst out into a bright flame, it being notified to the House, that in the arguing of this cause the Bishop of Lincoln¹ had given scandalous speeches of them, as that they were a factious, mutinous, seditious assembly, that they struck at the very root of the king's prerogative, and did catch at his crown, with other like speeches uttered against them, dissuading the Lords from the conference with them. These were loud words if they can be proved, but I see not yet how they can take notice of them; yet they were there tossed up and down, and many glances and girds passed upon him and his person, which were too long to set down all, but *ex uno disce omnes*. It was demanded which of the Lincolns it might be, the spiritual or temporal body; for they were so equal in ignorance, impudence, and other such honourable qualities, that it was hard to distinguish them. But whosoever it was, or how great soever, yea, as great as the great O'Neile himself, yet they would look for reason at his hands; and in this mood, all other business set aside, they consulted whether it were fitter to demand it of the Lords or to appeal to the king, and to that purpose made a selected committee, which is to bring in their verdict this day; and, to further the matter, Sir Walter Chute offered them his service to the king, which might stand them instead, in regard that he is so near the king that he cuts all the meat he eats, and hath much intercourse of speech with him, which he commonly sets down when he comes home for fear of forgetting, and therein hath done the House many good offices, which he will continue so long as he continues his place: which, by this course, methinks, should not be very long, nor he very fit to be a prince's carver.

There hath been some blustering against the degree of baronet, but I think it was rather somewhat to blur and disgrace them, than in any hope to put them down; yet Sir Anthony Cope took it so to heart, and did so eagerly

¹ Dr. Richard Neile.

defend himself and his cause, that he termed it a libel that was preferred against them. But Sir Hieron Horsley qualified the matter and excused his heat, saying, he was to be pardoned, because he spoke for his penny. Thus you see what a tempest we are in, which God knows how or when it will be calmed; and I am verily of opinion, that if this parliament were to begin again, we should tarry for it this year and the next.

Our honourable friend carries and shows himself as well as he can amidst these waves, but I am deceived if he do not wish himself on shore again, and had as lieve be a looker-on as an actor. But when a man is half-way over, he were as good go forward as look back; and in very truth I commend his courage in resisting and contemning danger when he is in it, more than his forwardness in running to it.

Sir Thomas Howard is lately made master of the prince's horse, which Ramsey, that executed the place before, takes in so ill part, that he will needs go travel. Sir Thomas married the Lord Burghley's daughter this day fortnight privately at Chiswick, and dined at Kensington with his sister Somerset, who hath ever since been sick, and much care and tender respect had of her, both by her lord and the king.

*Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.,
at Madrid.*

London, May 28, 1614.¹

For the present, I shall entertain you chiefly with a brief relation of what has passed in our parliament² since my last letter, which summarily may be reduced to these three heads: the first, respecting undertakers; the second, subsidies; and the third, impositions; for hitherto have as yet tended all their consultations, either principally or by way of accessory. The former whereof hath not a little troubled the House, as having been the sole subject that

¹ Mr. Lorkin's account of the proceedings in parliament, though, in some respects, a repetition of what has already been given, will be found full of interest.

² It began April 5, and was dissolved on the 7th of the following June.

exercised their tongues and brains, the first month of their session. The scope of all which was, to discover the parties chiefly interested in that enterprise, that so they might pass their censure of them, and protest against them. And here they inquired into all indirect courses used for the packing of men for their own particular ends and profits, by an undue and unlawful choice and election.

And, amongst others, a complaint was brought in against Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy,¹ for some menacing letters he wrote to a certain corporation of the Duchy, whereby he deterred them from a free choice, forcing divers (as was pretended) to give their voice in favour of him for whom he wrote. Upon a due examination thereof, the accusation appearing just and true, and his own letters being produced and read publicly in the House, they proceeded to censure him, which was, by expelling him the House, (whereof he was a member) and sending forth a new writ for Berkshire, for which shire he served as knight, for the authorizing them to a second election; and by taking the like course against such, as by letters, appeared to be brought in. Neither had they rested there, had not Sir Henry Neville very seasonably discovered the true original of undertaking; stooping under the burthen of whatsoever might be thought to be blameworthy himself, wherein he acquitted himself so happily, and with so much satisfaction to the House, and honour to himself, as they presently superseded from all farther search, declaring, in favour and justification of him, that he had done nothing which became not a good subject and an honest man.

So the second point which they fell to consider was subsidies, wherein such as favoured the king's necessity were very vehement. And whereas, by his majesty's own method, they were first to provide for the subjects' ease, before they entered into the consideration of the king's relief, these, inverting the order, would have turned the conclusion into a beginning, and were so confident of their own strength, as they called upon Mr. Speaker to have it put to voices. But the grave speeches of Sir Edward Sandys, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Grantham, and

¹ Sir Thomas Parry, who died in that post, May 1615.

some others, quieted that motion, and drew the House to a resolution to do nothing in matters of that nature, till they had ordered somewhat for the good of the public. And finding nothing to import the subject more nearly than the matter of impositions, left all other businesses aside to consider seriously of that one in particular, where they observed such a plentiful increase, as from 6 in the queen's time, they were now grown to 134. This gave them occasion to inquire into the king's prerogative, how far it could extend in matters of this kind ; and they declared that, by the laws of England, the king had no right to lay such taxes on the people, without the consent of the court of parliament, and therefore resolved, by way of petition, to seek redress.

And, desirous to be assisted therein by the Lords, after they had fitted the business, and disposed themselves for a conference, they sent to demand it of the Upper House, where it found some traversers, though chiefly by Neile, bishop of Lincoln, who opposed himself very bitterly against it, alleging, that he thought it no way fit to admit of any parley in a matter of that nature, which did not strike any more at the branches, but at the root ; yea, at the very crown and sceptre itself ; adding further, (the second day) for he spake twice, that the Lower House was known to be composed of such turbulent and factious spirits, as, if that they should give way to a communication or treaty with them, they were like to hear such mutinous speeches, as were not fit for those honourable personages to lend their hearing to ; with further amplifications in that kind, which provoked the House so far, as laying all other business aside, they minded nothing but the reparation of their honour, and the vindicating themselves from so foul a blot. And here some difficulty arose about the course they were to use for the righting of themselves, whether by complaint unto the king, or to the Upper House. At length they resolved upon the latter, in which deliberation they are now busily exercised, all being sharply bent against him, and, which is noted, no one man opening his mouth in favour of him. They instance a less offence heretofore committed by one of his coat,

which was punished by banishment ; and, upon his return back, with death. And, unless the matter be better qualified, study to render his chastisement as rigorous as they may.

Not many days since, Mr. Martin, the lawyer, presuming to tax the House, (though in a far less degree) incurred the danger of a severe censure, if many friends, accompanied by an humble submission of his own, had not the more powerfully meditated for him. He was no member of the House ; but entertained by the Virginia Company to recommend unto the House a favourable consideration of something that imported that adventure. Coming therefore to speak, he left his theme which was appointed him, and began to reprove the House for wasting so much time, to so little purpose ; and then, as if he had had more brain than all, undertook to become their pedagogue, and to instruct them (chiefly the younger sort, whereof there is some number) in what steps they ought to tread, and in what order they are to proceed. The next day he was called to the bar, and there arraigned for his presumption ; where, upon the earnest mediation of many friends, and his own submissive acknowledgment upon his knees, he was pardoned his offence ; the House contenting themselves to have remonstrated unto him his temerity and arrogance, without inflicting further punishment. But, if their patience was tempted then, it was conquered now, there being no proportion between the offences.

Meanwhile, his majesty receives small satisfaction in what he expected ; and, understanding that the House had resolved among themselves not to meddle with the handling of any other business till they saw a good end of this, he sent a letter, or a message, to them yesterday, to know whether they intended an utter cessation, yea or not ; and, if yes, then remonstrating with them how far they forgot their due sobriety and loyalty too, in touching upon his royal prerogative, to whom it only belongeth to call, adjourn, and dissolve parliament.

This day they are to make their answer, which, I understand, is like to be in effect this : that they acknowledge in this particular whatsoever his majesty challenges, and

that they never intended any cessation, but held the subject in question to be of such consequence, as it was fit for all other business to give way thereunto, till it was ended. And these are the main points of parliament.

There be divers suits put now in for the great offices of the prince's household; amongst the rest, the knights Vaughan and Trevor aim at the treasurership and the comptrollership, which has awakened a little your brother Newton, who now begins likewise to look about for himself.

I wish your return as soon as conveniently may be; for I find every man so cold in negociating other men's affairs, as, unless they were to follow them themselves, it is like to be to little or no purpose.

Some contestation is like to grow between us and the Hollanders, about the right of possession of the whales in Greenland. The Duke of Savoy, we hear, hath lately transferred a great part of his forces out of Piedmont into Savoy, whereby he hath put them of Geneva and Berne into a terrible alarm; nay, so much, as they of Berne have levied divers troops, which they hold in readiness all along the lake, whereby to dispose them for a ready passage, whither the designs of the said duke shall lead them. But it is thought that all will vanish away in smoke, sith the duke's foundation fails him, which was grounded upon the *brouilleries* in France, which are now compounded.

There is a great apprehension of some stir in Ireland.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 1, 1614.

If it were not for the parliament, we should be utterly barren and have nothing to write; and yet they proceed so slowly in their business, that, having sat now almost eight weeks, I can rather certify you what they have said than what they have done, which is no small vexation to some that think they trifle and of purpose avoid the main point of entering into the king's consideration, how to supply the king's wants.

The Bishop of Lincoln's business hath, in a manner, wholly entertained them this sevensnight; and, for aught

I understand, they are now as near an end as they were in the beginning. For having, on Saturday, sent Sir Edward Hoby to the Lords to complain of their wrong, and require reparation, answer was returned on Monday, that, sitting as judges, they were not to censure any man upon a public fame, without due proof and hearing his accusers. The next day, the House replied, by Sir Roger Owen,¹ that their lordships knew whither it were true or false, and according to their asseveration, either way, they would proceed as should be thought fit. What answer they had to this, I have not yet heard, but it is like to fall out that the bishop's speeches were not so heinous as was at first conceived.

The Thursday before, they received answer that, for divers respects, they would not yield to confer with them about impositions. It is doubted that these uncertain and unsatisfying answers may breed such a distraction between the Houses, that little good is to be expected by this assembly, unless the wiser and more temperate sort on both sides bend their best endeavours to re-unite them. In the mean time, the bishop hath been well baited, and his whole life and carriage laid open and anatomized, wherein there would have been no end, if some of the graver sort had not interposed themselves, and wished them to desist from that course till he were convicted of the offence. And yesterday a plain man told them that they know who looked over Lincoln, and now Lincoln had looked over them, and hindered their better business, which he wished them to go in hand withal, and leave this for a while in supense.

The king indeed was much offended at first that they should take upon them, as it were, *judicare Justitiam*, and make a cessation which were *empiëter* upon his authority; and wrote them a letter on Friday to that purpose, that it belonged not to them to call or dissolve assemblies. Whereupon, the speaker, with forty of the House, went on Sunday, in the afternoon, to the court, to satisfy him how they were misinterpreted, and that they had no such meaning, but only to forbear dealing in matters of moment,

¹ Member for Shrewsbury.

as being no fit men till they might clear themselves of those imputations laid upon them by the bishop.

You see how far, or rather how little, a way we are gone, neither can I guess how we should make more haste hereafter, unless the way be made plainer, and many rubs removed. And, to say truth, whether it be chance or cunning, there be many bones cast among them to set them at variance among themselves. And yesterday, Sir Edwyn Sandys and Sir Dudley Digges, who have hitherto agreed like sworn brethren, fell foul one upon another, but the House, not attending nor regarding their jars, fell in hand with other business.

Our good friend the while is neither idle nor always well occupied, neither greatly giving nor receiving satisfaction, but held opiniative and peremptory to the proof, which kind of carriage is nothing pleasing, which makes him subject to much censure; neither do they forbear him a whit. I am of opinion that the parliament will mend him or quite mar him; yet hitherto it judges but ill-favouredly, and though he be an old scholar, yet he never was in such a school before.

The Muscovy ambassador hath taken his leave, and is packing away within this month. Mr. Merricke is to follow him as ambassador from the king.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 9, 1614.

I received yours of the 13th of May presently upon the sending away of my last of the 1st of this present. Since which time here hath been some alteration, but still to the worse. For, while the parliament was eager in pursuit of the Bishop of Lincoln, and would not be satisfied with the Lords' answer, nor with the interpretation of his own meaning and retractation of his words, even with tears in the Upper House, and grow every day more fiery and insolent in their speeches, the king sent them a letter on the 3rd of this month, whereby he signified unto them that, for divers reasons and respects, he meant to dissolve the parliament as this day, unless, in the mean time, they

fell soundly in hand to consider and provide how to relieve his wants, neither could he expect or receive other answer from them than the speedy effect of this business.

This peremptory message wrought diversely with them, and made some of them put water in their wine, seeing the time of their reign so near at an end. But the greater sort grew more averse, and would not descend to so sudden resolution. Many bold and petulant speeches passed that day. For they sat long. But, above all, Christopher Neville, younger son to the Lord Abergavenny, was most noted for a curious premeditate declamation, made for some other time, but should have been lost if not spoken now, wherein, among many other sentences, he said that *nunc principes ita grassantur, ut potius sit mori quam vivere*, and spared not great personages about the court, calling them *arriseres et arrosares*, which he Englished, "Spaniels to the king and wolves to the people," with much other like stuff, not worth the remembering.¹ Neither were others behind in glancing at principal peers and councillors; and Hoskyns,² forsooth, must have his oar in the boat, and tell them that wise princes put away strangers, as Canute, when he meant to plant himself here, sent back his Danes, and the Palsgrave had lately dismissed all the English that were about the Lady Elizabeth, and withal (to what purpose he knew best), put them in mind of *Vesperæ Sicilianæ*.

You may judge of the rest by these scantlings. Whereupon, it was thought to stay the bells. The next day, being Saturday, the speaker was sick, and so the House sat not, and by Monday it was known there was a commission out to dissolve the parliament. Whereupon, the wiser sort propounded means to justify and some way to satisfy the king, but there were so many difficulties in the matter, and the time so short, that nothing could be done, and withal they were so malcontent that their conference about imposition was refused; the bishop protested against them, and now to be so peremptorily pressed, that, being somewhat out of frame before, this did quite distemper them,

¹ The reader may possibly be of a different opinion.

² John Hoskyns, of the Middle Temple, member for the city of Hereford, afterwards made a sergeant and one of the judges for Wales. He died August 27, 1638, aged seventy-two.

and made them careless which way the world went. The truth is, it should seem by their carriage, and by that I have heard from some of them, that there was never known a more disorderly House, and that it was many times more like a cockpit than a grave council. And many sat there that were more fit to have been among roaring boys than in that assembly.¹

Upon Tuesday, they sat again, but nothing passed worth the remembrance, saving that Sir Henry Wotton,² for some indiscreet and indecent language used to Sir John Saville,³ was cried down, and in great danger to be called to the bar, but escaped narrowly. Before they rose, Sir — Coningsby, gentleman usher of the Upper House, was sent to notify to them that the Lords had a commission, by virtue whereof they required their presence. When they came, the commission, directed to the two archbishops, the lord chancellor, and all the privy council of that House, was read, whereby they had authority to dissolve the parliament, and so they did. Whereby this meeting or assembly is to be held a blank parchment, or rather a parley, not having so much as the name of a session, but (as the words went) *parliamentum inchoatum*. Presently, upon the dissolution, pursuivants were ready to warn divers to be the next day at the council table, from whence Christopher Neville, Sir Walter Chute, Hoskyns, and Wentworth, were yesterday sent to the Tower; Sir John Saville confined to this town for a time; Sir Samuel and Edwyn Sandys, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Roger Owen, Thomas Crew, Hackwell, and some others, (I remember not) that had parts appointed them by the House, in the matter of impositions, were enjoined to bring in their notes and papers, to be burnt. *Sic transit gloria mundi*.⁴

The lord privy seal,⁵ that hath languished a long time, and lain at Greenwich above this month, came home

¹ We are afraid they did not improve — according to the writer's notion — in after years.

² Member for Hastings.

³ Knight of the shire for the county of York.

⁴ The glory of the world had not faded: it had only begun to glimmer, and could not be put out.

⁵ The Earl of Northampton.

yesterday all along town with more than forty horse, which was much noted in the manner and the time.

Captain Best is newly come from the East Indies, and brought home the Red Dragon, richly laden. He brings news that Sir Henry Middleton is dead at Bantam, and the Trades-Increase lost there by mischance, as she was careening (as they call it) which is great pity, being the goodliest ship of England, and never made voyage before. The best is, there was nothing left but the hulk, her ordnance and lading being laid fast ashore.

Sir Thomas Edmondes is not yet gone, but stays only for money, without which, he says, he will not budge.

*Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.,
at Madrid.*

London, June 18, 1614.

The parliament is dissolved, without the ratification of so much as any one act; no, not of the Palsgrave's succession, thereby rendering it, as they term it here, an *addle parliament*. The occasion of which so sudden resolution seems to have proceeded from his majesty's discontentment at the manner of their proceedings; who first insisted so much upon the righting of themselves against the Bishop of Lincoln; as, in the mean time, they neglected all other affairs of more present importance. Secondly, in the point of impositions, grew further inquisitive into the king's prerogative than was thought fit. And, thirdly, took such liberty, or rather licentiousness of speech unto themselves, as, not contented with invectives against some particular favourites, and in general against the Scots, must needs go about to bring into order the sceptre itself.¹

The convocation, on the other side, yielded the king some better contentment, who, finding the great assembly scattered without any relief of his majesty's wants, whereunto they were chiefly called, offered voluntary contributions to the king; which was, that every bishop and dean should present him with the best piece of plate he

¹ How if the sceptre wanted bringing into order?

had; and all other inferior ministers should be quoted ratably according to their means, by their diocesan bishop, whose example the Lords have since followed; with divers others of his majesty's particular servants.

This day, after the parliament was dissolved, such as had been the most offensive and scandalous, were convened before the council, and four committed to the Tower; viz., Sir Christopher Neville, my Lord Aberga-venny's second son, Sir Walter Chute, Hoskins of the Temple, and Wentworth of Lincoln's Inn, lawyers. The particulars of their offence I dare not adventure to write; neither do I judge it fit.

The first and last of these are likely by degrees to recover their liberty, as having transgressed in an inferior degree unto the other two, who shall continue by it. Sir Roger Owen, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Sir John Saville, knight for Yorkshire, were also in some danger; but they gave so good an interpretation of their own meaning, as they were presently dismissed. Certain others, as, Sir Jeremy Hoyley, a West countryman, Sir Robert Giles, of Devonshire, Sir James Perrot, of Pembrokeshire, and Sir Dudley Digges, as I hear, were confined to the city till the public authority should set them free. Since which time, Dr. Sharpe¹ first, and Sir Charles Cornwallis afterwards, were sent to the Tower likewise; the one for helping to compose Hoskins's speech, (as the bruit goeth) the other for animating him, and sundry more, against his majesty; himself in the interim being none of the House; that which aggravates his offence not a little. Whether farther matter be proved against him, yea or not, I dare not affirm; but worse things are suspected.

The last week, my Lord of Northampton came from Greenwich to London, gallantly attended, with no less than sixty gentlemen on horseback; and here, last Thursday² night, died. He hath given £2000 a-year to my Lord Arundel; his house at Greenwich to my Lady Suffolk (as the report goeth); large legacies to every one of

¹ Lionel Sharpe, D.D., who had been chaplain to Robert Earl of Essex, and afterwards to Prince Henry. He was rector of Malpas, in Cheshire, and archdeacon of Berkshire. He died in 1630.

² June 16.

his servants (whereof three are made his executors); and a liberal alms to the poor; which is all I can learn of that particular. Men rest now in great expectation how those offices of his shall be disposed of. My Lord of Somerset hath already obtained for himself the lord wardenship of the Cinque Ports; but the rest are referred to a farther deliberation.

There is lately arrived here a gentleman from the Prince of Condé to the king, to wipe away all fresh aspersions as might light upon his master by reason of the late stir in France. Sir Thomas Edmondes is this next week to return to his former employment, and is to put a speedy conclusion to the match in treaty between us and France. Sir Henry Wotton makes yet account to succeed him as soon as that business is once determined; which, if it happen, I purpose to resume my former resolution; though, if I rest here where I am, I shall not be altogether destitute of means to do you service.

News from Heidelberg is that Mrs. Anne Dudley is now made sure to M. Schomberg. From Italy we hear that Mr. Withepol hath slain in a duel Mr. Slingsby, and, being himself sore wounded, is taken and put in prison at Florence, where he is in great distress.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 30, 1614.

By my last of the 9th of this present, I gave you notice of the dissolving of the parliament and what succeeded for a day or two after. Since which time divers have been called *coram* for their carriage and speeches in that House, and driven to explain themselves. Among whom Sir Edwyn Sandys so demeaned himself that he was dismissed, without taint or touch, though upon examination it fell out there was a plot discovered to overthrow all orderly proceedings in this parliament, and to make it utterly void by insisting upon dangerous points, as taking away impositions, restoring of silenced ministers, and removing the Scots, with other matters likely to make the king lose all patience. And for this purpose, Hoskins was em-

bouched, abetted, and indeed plainly hired with money to do that he did, and some others drawn on by other means. For which practice one Kettleby and his brother, gentlemen of Gloucestershire, as I take it, little Dr. Sharpe, and Sir Charles Cornwallis,¹ though none of them were of the House, were committed to the Tower, and there remain. Now, if it be asked why they should take this course, and *cui bono*? You must understand there was much ado and great dispute before a parliament could be procured, and the contrary part, to make good their opinion, sought by all means to embroil it and bring it to nothing.

Christopher Neville, upon submission, found some favour, and is removed to the Fleet; and Wentworth, because his offence is found to be of simplicity rather than malice, had leave this Whitsuntide to go home to his wife, for five or six days, but is now returned to the Tower, where he hath the liberty of the place, and stays more to satisfy the French ambassador than any thing else.

The master of the Rolls,² that was in great favour with the king, hath lost his conceit about this business, for there be many presumptions that his hand was in it, his son being so busy and factious in the House, and Hoskins, one of his chief consorts and minions, so far engaged, besides divers untoward speeches of his own, and a notorious envy that any thing should succeed better under another than himself. Once the king is very well satisfied of Sir Randolph Crewe, whom he lately knighted, with a caution under his own hand, that his wife, being a lady before, should not lose her first place; and to grace him further, made him his sergeant on Saturday last, when Sir Robert Hicham, the queen's attorney, a great learned [lawyer,] was called to the coif.

On Wednesday in Whitsun-week,³ the lord privy seal departed this life, the same day sevensnight that he came through London, as it were in triumph, with only Sir Charles Cornwallis in his coach. He had a swelling in his thigh, which increasing daily, it was thought good, after the applying of mollifying medicines, to cut it, whereupon it

¹ Who had been ambassador in Spain.

² Sir Edward Phillips.

³ June 15, 1614.

grew so angry, that it gangrened and made an end of him. It should seem the matter was very venomous, when it so poisoned Felton the surgeon, that lanced it, that he hath ever since lain at death's door, and the bell hath tolled for him twice or thrice. And it was very noisome all the room over for a day or two before he died. He was so heart-whole and so little expected death that he had not made his will till the day before he died, and Sir Robert Cotton, his old friend, was the man who put him in mind of it, telling him there was no other way with him. But for his good news, among all his friends and legacies, he gave him never a penny. He made three of his men, Griffin, Bing, and another, his executors, and left most of his land to the Earl of Arundel. His house by Charing Cross to the Earl of Suffolk and his lady during their lives, and after to Mr. Henry Howard, with £800 land a-year more. But all his goods and revenues for ten years are to go to the payment of legacies and founding of three hospitals, at Greenwich, in Norfolk, and in the west country. He dealt liberally with his men, leaving to most of them £100 a-piece. He gave order his body should be buried at Dover, in a chapel within the Castle, whither it was carried the last week, whereupon there is much descanting, and the more for that it is constantly reported that he had extreme unction, and his body lay covered while it was here with a velvet pall, that had a white cross clean through it, with two burning tapers upon his coffin day and night, where six of his gentlemen watched continually by turns, with torches borne by other servants. And in that order he was carried all along through Kent, in all the inns where he rested.

The day of his death, or next, before he wrote a letter to the king with this superscription, *Detur dignissimo*, as likewise to the Earl of Somerset, wherein he requested that Sir Robert Brett should continue his place in Dover Castle, and that the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Lisle should not have any of his offices, because, accounting them his enemies, he would not they should triumph over him when he was gone. These and such other passages made the world speak hardly of him, and to say, *ut vivit sic moritur*.

The Lord of Somerset hath the keeping of the privy seal, and is thought shall be lord warden of the Cinque Ports. It is now verily thought that the lord chamberlain shall be shortly made lord treasurer, and Lord Somerset chamberlain, yet the queen doth pretend a promise for the Earl of Pembroke. It is more than time we had a treasurer, if that would any mend the matter, for we are at a very low ebb for money. At the breaking up of the parliament, the bishops agreed among themselves to give their best piece of plate, or the value of it, in present of money, as a speedy benevolence to supply the king's want. The Archbishop of Canterbury began with a basin and ewer, and redeemed it with £140. The Bishop of Winchester as much, Ely £120, *et sic de cæteris*. The noblemen followed the example. The lord chamberlain and the Earl of Somerset gave each £200; the Earl of Salisbury £300; the rest less, but no man more; Mr. Secretary gave £100, and all officers toward the law or receipt, according to their minds. Sir Henry Fanshawe £50, Sir Christopher Hatton as much, the Lord Coke £200; but the rest of the judges came but slowly after, for I know where some presented but £20, which was refused. The money is paid into the Jewel House. Letters shall be sent into all the shires to see how they will follow the example. I heard London made an offer of five thousand marks, which was not accepted, and upon Sunday Mr. Secretary brought a letter from the king to the lord mayor and city to borrow £100,000, but I hear not yet what resolution they have taken, nor what answer they give.

Sir John Merricke, my brother George's wife's uncle, is gone ambassador into Muscovy. He was knighted, and made a gentleman of the privy chamber, and well graced by the king before his going. He carries about thirty men in liveries, besides seven or eight gentlemen, whereof Becher,¹ that was with the Lord Clifford, is one put to him by Mr. Secretary, for that there is some business to be done betwixt the Muscovite and the King of Sweden, by his majesty's mediation, wherein he may serve as secretary.

¹ Afterwards Sir William Becher.

Sir Julius Cæsar keeps a funeral this day for his lady at Merchant Tailors' Hall, and Sir Henry Saville and his lady are in town, and invited thither for mourners. Mr. Secretary told me a good while since, that he had gotten young Sedley, their son-in-law, a licence to travel, but I hear not yet that he is gone or going.

The king removed yesterday to Richmond, whither Sir Thomas Edmondes is gone to take his leave of him this morning. He can get but £400 with him, of £1300 or £1400 that is owing him for entertainment, but he is promised he shall have the rest at a month.

Our old friend rubs on, and for aught I see stands alone, without much dependence on any, which, as the world goes, I think is no ill way. I have been with him here at his house twice or thrice within this sevendnight, and find him still the old man. He wishes you would think of succeeding Sir Thomas Edmondes when the time comes. There is nobody resolved for the Low Countries, though Mr. Naunton and his friends thought him for awhile in fair forwardness.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Mrs. Alice Carleton.

London, June 30, 1614.

I have not seen your sister Williams since I came to town, though I have been there twice. The first time she was at a neighbour's house at cards, and the next she was gone to the New Globe, to a play. Indeed, I hear much speech of this new playhouse, which is said to be the fairest that ever was in England, so that if I live but seven years longer, I may chance to take a journey to see it.¹

In one of my last letters I wrote you, that Mrs. Lassels was married to Dr. Trevire, judge of the Admiralty. She is now become a widow again, having buried her doctor this Whitsuntide out of Wingfield House. He died a very beggar, and hath left her in a worse state than he found her.

On Sunday morning your cousin Smith² was brought

¹ The theatre was rebuilt after it had been destroyed by fire.

² Judith, daughter of Sir Rowland Lytton, married to George Smith, Esq., afterwards knighted.

abed of a son, which, though he came almost six weeks before he was looked for, yet is very lively and like to hold out, though but a little one. Sir Rowland is much joyed at it, for I must tell you she is his darling.

Sir Arthur Ingram's lady is likewise brought abed of a son, which was christened this day sevensnight at Stratford Bow, where the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Somerset, and the Countess of Nottingham, were gossips; and the king in person came into the garden to eat cherries, and part of the banquet. On Tuesday last he was chosen sheriff of London, but hath procured the king's letters to be discharged. They have chosen two or three more, both before and since, and none of them hold. Some say it is because they will not be matched with Peter Proby, who, from being some time Secretary Walsingham's barber, was lately chosen alderman, and, contrary to expectation, took it upon him; which troubles them all, for he is a shrewd, nimble-witted fellow.

Sir Matthew Cary's eldest son had a quarrel of late with one Captain Osborne, and I know not how the matter was handled, but between him and Captain Cary, of Flushing, Osborne is slain. Captain Cary is fled, and young Sir Matthew, I hear, absents himself.

*Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., at
Tours, in France.*

London, July 2, 1614.

Since my last letters of the 18th of June, I received yours of the 1st of the same month, which brought me the first news of your purpose for France; though some of your brothers¹ understood as much before (whether by conjecture or no I know not) from Sir John Digby. I hope it shall not be needful to make any long stay in those parts, at least if my designs find that issue that I look for, I being in as fair a way possibly of doing you as good service here, as if my former intentions had not been crossed; but hereof at a better leisure, and as I shall understand farther.

For news, my employment will not now suffer me to

¹ -in-law.

inquire after such matters as I have done heretofore ; but the little which I can learn you shall have, which will be chiefly to let you know, that the voluntary contributions of the clergy is to be imitated, and followed by them of the laity likewise. And to this purpose every lieutenant of the shire is to employ himself for the collection ; and for further supply of the king's wants, the sale of his forests and other lands shall proceed ; base money, as is thought, shall be stamped ; some new imposition shall be laid, in particular upon malt (which, being a general commodity, is like to yield no small advantage) ; and the project for busses,¹ which I have already touched in some of my former letters, shall be set on foot afresh ; these, amongst a whole dozen of plans to the same end tending, are, as far as I can learn, the most considerable and likely. And to let the readiness of the city appear in the first point of gratuity, they have offered unto his majesty all their privy seals, which they have released freely.

In mentioning my Lord of Northampton in my last letters, I omitted one thing somewhat material ; which was, that a little before his death he declared himself of his old religion :² which he farther confirmed, though somewhat more obscurely, in his last testament. How he disposed of his funeral Mr. Evans wrote you word last week.

Sir Charles Cornwallis lies still fast by it. He wrote a letter not long since to the king, importing an humble submission, and a suit for pardon, which yet was accompanied with this protestation—that unless he might find the like place in his majesty's good opinion which he had before his offence committed, he never desired to quit the Tower whilst he lived ; and the common belief is, that he is like enough to speed in this last kind, whether he desire it or not. But the impression of this sad news, concurring with some other occasions, hath cast Sir William,¹ his son, into so dangerous a sickness, as it is thought he will hardly escape with life.

It was presently after my Lord Northampton's death

¹ Vessels used in the fishing trade.

² Popery.

³ Author of *Essays* published in 1616, in 4to., and reprinted in 1632, in 8vo.

voiced abroad, that my Lord of Somerset had obtained the grant of the Cinque Ports. But now that is qualified, and the general bruit confers it upon my Lord Lisle, but upon how certain ground I know not. The other offices rest yet undisposed of and undetermined.

The news from Heidelberg is, that her grace is with child.

There goes an uncertain rumour up and down, both in court and city, that a new parliament shall be called at Michaelmas; but as I cannot easily assent thereto my belief, and have taken the best order I can, that, if there chance to be any, you may be chosen one of the burgesses, as being a notable means of bettering your experience. In which purpose I have spoken to Sir James Grantham, Sir John Farrers, and wrote to Mr. Townshend.

We had a call of sergeants here the last Thursday, but they were only two in number, viz.—Mr. Randal Crew, late speaker, who is sworn in that quality to the king, and Sir Robert Hitcham, of Gray's Inn. Sir John Hebert, son to my lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, was last week married to Mrs. Phillippa Sidney, my Lord Lisle's daughter, and received with her £4000 portion.

Mr. Fenner hath lighted upon a good fortune, being either already married, or to marry shortly Sir Henry Mildmay's wife's¹ sister, whose fortune is valued better than £4000.

Casaubon lieth at the point of death.² His majesty promiseth to continue his pension to his wife for life, and to provide for the future preferment of one of his sons.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 21, 1614.

I must retract somewhat of what I wrote lately touching the parliament, as if the dissolution had been erroneous; seeing the lord chancellor, at the closing of the term this day sevensnight, in the Star Chamber, disavowed

¹ Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Darcy, of Tolleshunt Darcy, in Essex.

² He died July 1, 1614, according to his epitaph in Westminster Abbey.

it, and so put to silence all buzzes and further disputes about it.

The king came to town as he appointed, and went away again on Sunday, after supper, to Theobalds, without altering any thing in the privy seal, or mastership of the horse, as was expected. But it was deferred to be done at Audley End as yesterday, so that some time this day we shall have the certainty.

The voice is very current, that Sir Walter Cope is not like to hold his place long, but to be translated to some other office of less importance. He is not ignorant of this report, but hears of it daily; yet he shrinks not, but thinks he sits fast, and will not be acknown of any such meaning. It may be, the opinion riseth upon notice, that there hath been less benefit made of that court this last year, by a fair deal, than was usually before, which is not imputed so much to his ignorance or avarice, as to his want of authority and countenance that should become such a place. The Lord Danvers is in speech to compound with the Lord Sheffield for the presidentship of York; and I hear they are agreed, but cannot learn the conditions.

There be writs gone forth for nine new sergeants, whose names I have not all in readiness; but I remember these: Francis More, Richardson, Bantry, Chamberlain, and Atton. Thomas Crew could not be admitted, though he had many friends. Their fine is said to be £600 a man, which is paid to the privy purse, or at least to the bedchamber.

Sir Henry Wotton goes away out of hand to see if he can compound this business of Cleve without blows, in persuading the States to resign the fort of Gulick into a third hand. His allowance is £4 a-day, with forty days advancement; but he complains of hard measure in both, yet he is very earnest that the place of residence there should not be disposed of till he had signified his liking, so that you may see his stomach is come down. But I hope you are beforehand with him, as perhaps may perceive by this enclosed, which I had of Mr. Secretary, when I parted late from him yesternight, and took my leave of him, till his return from the progress, being this night to

meet the king at Royston. He promiseth to have you in special care and remembrance, and makes no question of it, in a manner. Only, the greatest impediment is, that they cannot yet find a fit successor; for as for Sir Dudley Digges, Sir R. Drury, le Sieur, Fitz Williams, and I know not who else, they are all subject to just exceptions, so that I have taken upon me to name one to him, whom you know; and though he knows him not, yet hitherto apprehends well enough of him, if he be not too young. But you shall hear more of him, when I see how it succeeds. In the mean time, you are not to think of removing till the spring, and many alterations may fall in that time.

One thing I cannot keep from you, that he thinks you neglect him more than needs; for howsoever there may be mysteries and cabals 'twixt you and the great man,¹ yet he is not to be altogether forgotten. As likewise there is another point, which, though I am loath to touch or to intermeddle with matters above my compass, yet, seeing I have heard it, through several ways, from good hands, I cannot conceal that your sedulity and length are not always so welcome as perhaps you imagine, for even the best things may breed satiety; but, as I said, though this be beyond my reach, yet I hope you will think it no presumption, seeing it proceeds of mere zeal and good meaning.

Sir Thomas Lake goes the progress likewise, the reason whereof I cannot attain to; and though these courses would drive some men to impatience, yet I assure you he² is so little moved, that I must needs commend his courage and resolution; and I am much deceived if this frank course of his do not more prevail in the end than any juggling. For matters cannot be always thus, and I am verily persuaded he will stand, whoever falls.

Mr. Secretary hath gone through of late with the Lord Chandos for the keeping of Ditton Park,³ and gives him £1100, having obtained it of the king for himself and one of his sons, being valued to him, and assured to be worth £150 a-year, besides the house and commodities about it.

¹ The Earl of Somerset.

² Secretary Winwood.

³ Near Colebrook, in Bucks.

Sir John Digby is not yet gone, having somewhat ado to get his money and rates allowed, which are thought scant reasonable, to demand £900 for his journey out of Spain; but I think he is well paid if he gets £600. Sir Thomas Edmondes goes away to-morrow. We supped together last night at Mr. Secretary's, and this day I am his guest at Mr. Bell's, where you are not like to pass unremembered. In truth, he is generally beloved, and hath many well-wishers; but things have not succeeded according to his desert, neither hath he satisfaction almost in any thing he pretended; yet he hath conquered himself, and puts up all in patience, which the men say is but a dull virtue, yet it is of most use in this age.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 21, 1614.

His majesty hath disposed of the treasurership, which he hath conferred upon my Lord of Suffolk, and hath bestowed the chamberlainship upon my Lord of Somerset, his son-in-law. He delivered them both their staves on Sunday was sennight; which act he further accompanied with a declaration of the cause why he had deferred to take that resolution for so long; and then with an honourable testimony as to either's worth and merit.

As to the first, he showed that, having suffered much in his estate under former treasurers, his desire was to try whether, by translating the execution of that charge upon many, he might find some relief. Which course, notwithstanding, failing to answer his expectations, and proving besides grievous to the subject, who could not be despatched with that expedition as before, he now thought fit to change again, by resuming the wonted custom of this kingdom, in putting the employment into one man's hands; into whose commendations he entering, to make it appear with more advantage, he set him in opposition to the late lord treasurer¹ deceased, who, in lieu of supplying his wants, was wont to entertain him with epigrams, fine discourses, and learned epistles, and other such tricks

¹ The Earl of Salisbury.

and devices, which yet he saw would pay no debts; and that therefore now, (the better to obviate such cunning) he had made choice of a plain honest gentleman, who, if he committed a fault, had not rhetoric enough to excuse it. And afterwards proceeding to speak somewhat of the chamberlainship, remonstrated that, forasmuch as it was a place of great nearness to his person, he had therefore made choice of him thereto, who of all men living he most cherished, my Lord of Somerset. To whom, addressing himself with the most amiable condescension that might be used, he said these words: "Lo, here, friend Somerset;" offering therewith the staff, which the other, prostrating himself upon his knees, received with some few but effectual words of acknowledgment. The Wednesday following, the lord treasurer took his oath, and was solemnly invested in his place at Westminster, whither, with a frequent troop of the nobility, he was accompanied.

Some difficulty there was before these matters could be handsomely contrived. My Lord Pembroke¹ pretended a right unto the chamberlainship, as having formerly quitted his claim (which by virtue of his majesty's promise he made upon the first vacancy to the mastership of the horse) to the Earl of Somerset, who was in good hope to have compounded with my Lord of Worcester for it. For the removal of which bar, and that every man's turn might be served, the dignity of lord high steward was deferred to the Earl of Worcester, who, finding that how transcendent soever the title were, yet the profits of the place were far inferior to that he already possesseth, would by no means budge, unless he might further receive in exchange a pension of £1000 a-year for his own life, and another whom he should nominate: which conditions being judged too advantageous, they have sought rather to content the former by an assurance which is given him of the first place that shall void of these four, viz., admiralty, treasurership, chamberlainship, mastership of the horse, which offer, it seems, for want of better satisfaction, he hath accepted.

The office of privy seal shall become extinct; yet the

¹ William, third earl, subsequently lord chamberlain. He died April 10, 1630.

power thereof remains in my Lord of Somerset's hands; who executes likewise (for he hath relinquished his grant) the charge of warden of the Cinque Ports, till his majesty can resolve upon a fit subject upon whom to confer it. And to let you see further how universal this man's worth and greatness is, he continues to receive all the packets, to order the despatches, and in a manner disburthens the secretary of the whole care of foreign affairs; who willing, not long since, to put himself into some action, pretended that the king's ministers abroad wanted advice and directions what to do; and offering, in particular, (if so it liked the earl) to send some instructions to Trumbull, his majesty's agent at Brussels, received this answer, that he should not need trouble himself with the care thereof, for he would do whatsoever was requisite therein himself.

The wars in Cleve are now like to be hotly revived. The archduke hath levied divers forces in favour of Newberg. The States make like preparations to assist Brandenburg, and have newly sent for all our English captains who have any charge there, to command their present and personal attendance; who are already disposing themselves to the journey with what expedition may be. His majesty intercedes between both, and employs Sir Henry Wotton as an ambassador to either, (I mean the States and the duke) to try if he can mediate a friendly accord.

We hear of a great army which the King of Spain is levying in Biscay with a design of landing them at Dunkirk upon this occasion—how truly, I suppose you know better than we. Eight of the king's ships are rigging and making ready for sea.

From the Bermudas news is freshly arrived, that there have been there lately two Spanish ships, with a little frigate sounding the way before them. Upon the first discovery of them, the governor of the island sent forth a small vessel towards them, to learn what they were, who, perceiving them to be Spaniards, presently returned and advertised the governor thereof, who presently saluting them with a friendly shot of artillery, they rendered him his salute, and instantly retired.

A plantation of Guiana is now nearly undertaken. They are to enter upon their voyage the next month.¹

Captain Newport, who undertook the conduct of Sir Robert Shirley into Persia, hath, under one and the self-same labour, made the voyage of the East Indies, and is here within these three or four days safely arrived, having brought a rich lading home with him, though the chief commodity be pepper.

There is a voice (but upon how good grounds I know not) that Sir Walter Cope is to quit the mastership of the Wards to my Lord of Suffolk, who is desirous to execute that charge, even in the terms it now stands; in exchange whereof the other shall receive the treasurership of Ireland. The like uncertain bruit there is that my Lord Stanhope shall receive composition for the place of vice-chamberlain; and Sir Thomas Vavasor succeed in his room. But of neither of these can I write with any good assurance.

Sir Charles Cornwallis, Dr. Sharpe, and Hoskins, keep still fast by it in the Tower; whither were likewise committed, about a fortnight since, certain servants of the Lady Arabella's, Crompton, Reeves, and Dr. Palmer; the cause whereof is said to be some new complot for her escape and delivery.

His majesty is now entering upon his progress, which he was to make first into Northamptonshire, then into Nottinghamshire, and so into Rutlandshire, where he means to keep his 5th of August at Burleigh.

I shall conclude with a suit, wherein, with a little of your pains, you may ease me of a great deal of care; who am seeking for some good pretext to leave the condition wherein I now am. My reasons you shall hereafter understand, if so be you please. Now I know of no colour so specious, as if you please to demand one fact of my Lady Harrington; whereunto, if you should like to condescend, I shall then desire that you would vouchsafe me the favour of writing two letters, one to her, and another to me, importing in effect what you shall find in these copies enclosed, which I therefore have drawn, not as undertaking to

¹ This refers to a new expedition planned by Sir Walter Raleigh, who, though still a prisoner in the Tower, was suing for his liberation.

dictate unto you, who are far better skilled in this kind than myself; but only to let you see upon what temper I desire them, as knowing somewhat how to apply myself to her humour.

If I can disengage myself here honestly and handsomely, then my intention is to direct my course with all speed to Paris, where, without any charge at all to you, I hope to do you some not unprofitable service, and afterwards pursue my own particular designs; wherewith I shall make bold to acquaint you when I see you.

PS. Before I had closed up my letter, I learned that my Lord of Pembroke, being no whit satisfied with the former offers, there is a new overture made him of compounding with my Lord of Worcester; which some think will be the exchange of the privy seal, with the addition of a pension. His majesty, at his departure hence, told him he would not so leave him; and that he should hear further at Audley End, whither he is newly gone, and where it is supposed some further matter will be effected one way or other for his contentment. But hereof when I shall learn some better certainty.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 22, 1614.

Scarce had I despatched away my former letters, when lo! news was brought me of the King of Denmark's arrival, who came this day to Somerset House; which was so sudden, strange, and unexpected, as a long time I believed it to be a fable, till, by a diligent inquiry, I resolved myself of the contrary. He comes very slenderly attended, accompanied only with some half a dozen persons. What the occasion of this so strange accident may be, I cannot attain unto, otherwise than by blind guess; and therefore leave you to your own divination.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 29, 1614.

Since my last letters, there hath nothing occurred here worth the writing: only I shall be able to relate unto you

somewhat more fully the manner of the King of Denmark's coming, together with all the conceits and opinions of men touching the cause thereof.

As touching the first, it was in this sort. When he left home, he pretended an interview to be had between himself, the Dukes of Saxe, Brunswick, and Hulst, at a certain town situate on the confines of Germany, whither he must necessarily use the benefit of the sea for the transporting of himself.

Having, therefore, the better to colour his design, commanded all his train to go before and to attend his arrival at such a place; he, with three of his council, and half a dozen other gentlemen, with as many trumpeters, and as many of his guards, embarked themselves with a pretence for Germany, but with an intention for England. None of them that were embarked with him were privy to his purpose, save the three of his council, and the three masters of the ships, which was the number of the ships that came along with him.

He landed here at Yarmouth, and thence took post-horses here to London, where, dining at an ordinary inn near Aldgate, he hired a hackney-coach, and presently addressed his course to the queen's court, entered the presence before any person had the least thought of him. There, Cardel, the dancer, gave the first occasion of discovering him, by saying that that gentleman was the likeliest the King of Denmark that ever he saw in his life; which a Frenchman, one of her majesty's servants, hearing, and viewing his countenance well, whom he had seen the last time of his being here, grew confident it was he; and presently ran to carry the news thereof to the queen, who sat then at dinner privately in her gallery at Somerset House.

The queen at first scorned him for his labour; so vain it appeared, and thought it some fantastic caprices of a French brain. But the king following close after, and begging silence, by the becking of his hand as he entered, came behind her and embraced her ere she was aware, and saluting her with a kiss, taught her the verity of that which before she believed to be a falsehood. Presently

she took off the best jewel she wore then about her, and gave it to the Frenchman for his tidings; despatched a post to his majesty, who was then well onward with his progress, and then intended the care of his entertainment.

The stealth of the journey, and other circumstances of his arrival, gave subject for fear at the first that it was for some great distress at home; which point being since cleared, it is strongly conceited that it is for some notable design abroad, and especially with relation to Germany. But some of the wiser sort think that it is to accommodate some particular differences here; whereof I think fit to give you only this much, which I wish may rest likewise with yourself.

His entertainment hath been hunting, bear-baiting, running at the ring, and fencing. Upon Monday next, the king conveys him to Rochester, also back to Gravesend, where he takes shipping the day following with an intention of returning speedily.

News from the Low Countries is, that the archduke hath 18,000 of the old bands, and 15,000 new, ready to march into the field; which are to be conducted by Spinola, with a double design; first, in favour of Newberg; and second, in revenge of Aix, for their disobedience and contempt of the emperor. For certain it is that the emperor hath put that town to ban, and hath committed the execution to the archduke. For which purpose, likewise, the Elector of Cologne and the Duke of Newberg make great levies in Cologne and Düsseldorf, beating six drums together, in the streets, and giving entertainment to all kinds of people capable of war, and have lodged many troops at Metman, Erklems, Hartzogou-raid, Kerpon, Wolfraid, and divers other villages round about; and in the first and last of these places above named, have already committed some outrages against them of the Religion, having at Metman burnt the minister's house, and all his household stuff, and at Wolfraid, broken down the pulpit, and would have used violence to the minister had he not saved himself by flight.

Some there are that, conjecturing of the aforesaid forces, terminate it not in the two former projects, but

proceed yet further, and say that it is in favour of the choice of a new King of the Romans, as the King of Spain's.

The 19th of this present Count Henry parted from the Hague with 2000 soldiers, to convey the munitions of war, and to place the companies in their garrisons. And the States attend to see whether the enemy will cut off this convoy, or no; which if they do, the truce is absolutely broken; whereat some think the Spaniard aims; at least, if the voice of Brussels be true, for so there it is commonly bruited.

*Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.,
at Tours, in France.*

London, August 6, 1614.

The times not furnishing me with sufficient subject for a just letter, I shall, by this note, which I send enclosed in Mr. Evans's packet, only let you understand that the King of Denmark departed hence on Monday last; our king conducted him to Gravesend, and there feasted him at dinner. After, he invited his majesty to collation with him in the ship, and there they took leave of each other.

The morning he went away, he sent a largess of 4000 dollars to be divided amongst the officers here, and had presented divers of the ladies with many rich jewels before.

On Sunday last, the master of the wards died, having survived Sir Anthony Cope, his brother, not above one month. The Lady Dorothea¹ Stuart is dead likewise.

All the Scotsmen have forsaken Heidelberg, and have returned thither into England; only Mr. Thomas Levenston, the cup-bearer, remains behind.

I had almost let slip the most particular point of all others, which is to let you know that the most judicious sort conceit now of the cause of the King of Denmark's coming; viz., to treat with his majesty about a match which is now in parley between his son and the younger daughter of Spain. This is certain, that after the leave taken between the two kings, the Spanish ambassador was four hours

¹ Arabella.

privately with him in his ship, and honoured at his departure with 150 great shot. *Sed hæc in aurem.*

The same day the two kings parted, his majesty rode to Theobalds, and thence continued on his former intended progress.

*Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.,
at Tours.*

London, August 20, 1614.

Howsoever I labour of the same penury of subject now as in my last, yet think I not fit to expect longer, lest this little that I have should prove unseasonable; it faring with news as with fruits, the best welcome in their prime. To begin therefore with the chiefest.

The lord deputy of Ireland¹ had his despatch from the king about six weeks since for his return. It is more than a month ago that he set forward on his voyage, addressing his course directly to West Chester, where he resolved to take ship. He hath stood at a stay there ever since, not daring to adventure the passage without a convoy from his majesty to secure him against the pirates, which are said to lie in wait for him in those seas, to ease him of the burthen of such provision of money as he carried over with him, amounting to a good round sum of some sixteen or seventeen thousand pounds. His majesty hath sent either six or eight ships to conduct him, and to scour those seas a little in their return.

Sir Henry Neville is now somewhat well paid of that service he hath done both his majesty, and my Lord of Somerset, by a suit he hath obtained, worth £6000 (as himself prizeth it), but as other value it, more truly, £20,000. It is a commission granted him from the king to sell all the underwoods in his majesty's own tenure, which are many, and to pay one moiety of the profit into the exchequer, and the other moiety to reserve to himself.

There is an intention of erecting a new public library in Cambridge, in imitation of that of Oxford. The heads of the houses are the *primi motores*, who are already about to buy

¹ Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Belfast.

the soil and provide the materials. They promise themselves whatsoever furtherance my lord treasurer¹ may give them, either by his authority or countenance, having lately made choice of him to be their chancellor. Upon Monday last, the majority of the University went to Audley End, to present him with his patent; twenty doctors in their formalities and upon their foot-cloths, and four score others of a second and inferior rank. They were very honourably entertained and richly feasted. After dinner, the vice-chancellor made a speech in Latin, which was seconded by another from the University orator.² His lordship answered them in English; the effect of his speech being to assure them of his endeavour to maintain the privileges and dignity of the University; and, though he came short of his uncle,³ his predecessor, in learning, yet he would make good that want in affection and good will. And, when he mentioned his uncle, he added a speech to this purpose:—"Who," said he, "though he was reputed over superstitious in some opinions, yet it was the more to be borne withal in a man of his learning." To show them how sensible he is of this honour, he hath already moved his majesty to grace the University with his royal presence, who hath yielded the suit, and promiseth to make it a winter journey, which he limits between Christmas next and Shrovetide.

And thus much of domestic news. I shall add a word or two of foreign. The old Duke of Newberg seems to be much affected with his son's apostacy, and upon that occasion calls an assembly to provide for the security of religion in his country.

The emperor holds now an assembly at Lentz, where most of the House of Austria are in person. The cause is pretended to be, despatching away from thence of the Great Turk's ambassador; the emperor debating whether he had best enter into war or conserve peace, which the Turks seem much to desire, with condition that Transylvania may remain free to him, and those places which the emperor holds there may be yielded up. But it is thought

¹ The Earl of Suffolk.

² Francis Nethersole, afterwards secretary to the Queen of Bohemia.

³ The Earl of Northampton.

that it is with a further design, regarding partly the choice of a new King of the Romans, partly the disbanding and enfeebling the united princes, who, to counterbar them, are in deliberation of assembling themselves together likewise by their ambassadors and deputies.

My Lady Hay¹ died on Tuesday last. Sir Walter Cope's funeral was solemnized at Chelrington last Thursday.

*Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.,
at Tours.*

London, September 11, 1614.

As touching the dissolution of the parliament, with the causes thereof, I have written in my former letters somewhat amply; which, however they have missed of finding you out in their due time, yet I hope at length will arrive safely, there being already three packets returned back from Spain hither to you, and from hence sent again into France, to seek you out at Tours. Nevertheless, to satisfy your desire therein, I shall as succinctly, and as briefly as I may, repeat unto you the sum and substance of what I have formerly signified unto you touching that particular.

The true ground, therefore, of breaking up the parliament I conceive to be his majesty's indignation against the House for the manner and fashion of their proceeding, wasting out the time, either *nihil agendo*, or *aliud agendo*, or *male agendo*.

The beginning they spent wholly in the discovery of undertakers, without entering into a consideration of any other matter whatever, and wherein their violence continued till such time as Sir Henry Neville, by his advancing of the fact and the manner, gave them satisfaction. Then they left the main point for which they were assembled, the king's relief, and fell to descant upon his royal prerogative in matters of imposition, which they pretended to be against law, and therefore instantly laboured that they might be removed, with protestations against supplying the king's wants otherwise: which, how displeasing a

¹ Honora, only daughter of Edward Lord Denny, and wife of James Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle.

theme it was to his majesty, you may easily guess by the importance thereof, sith thereby was called in question, if not a moiety, yet a third part of his revenue. Yet, had it been well, if they had contained themselves within these bounds, and had not proceeded to personal invectives, and mutinous and seditious speeches against his majesty, against his favourites, and against the Scots in general. Such as offended in this last kind were chiefly Hoskins and Wentworth, lawyers, Mr. Neville, and Sir Walter Chute. But the former was the most exorbitant, as well for the matter and the manner of his speech, as for the practice and conspiracy (so they here qualify it) with Sir Charles Cornwallis, and Dr. Sharpe, about the contriving of it. His speech imported thus much in effect, that he could wish his majesty would be more reserved of his honours and favours to strangers, and more communicative to those of our native country, especially in the weighty affairs of state, for fear a *Sicilian vespers*, or *Parisian matins*, did ensue: commending, withal, the prudence of the Palatine, as most worthy to be imitated; who, of the little number that was sent over with her highness, retained few, or scarce any at all. Which words of his passed the House not only without censure, but, when Sir Henry Wotton¹ called them in question, were by them justified, as having nothing exceeded the bounds of modesty.

Other occasions occurred, but these were the main inducements to persuade the king to dissolve the House as he did; which was done without passing any act at all, thereby to render it, as they here term it, an *addle* parliament. Nay, to show his majesty's further indignation against it, he publicly, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, tore all their bills, a day or two after the said dissolution, before their faces.² This is the effect of what you require: more largely, if needs be, when I see you.

The present affords no news at all, more than that two or three days since, we were put into an alarm by the

¹ He was member for Hastings, one of the Cinque Ports.

² This feat was afterwards imitated by Louis XIV., but in both instances this tearing humour cost their successors dear.

discovery of a fleet upon our coasts, of three score sail, which at the first were feared to be Spaniards, destined for England, but since prove either to be Easterlings, or, if Spaniards, destined for Embden. The council, upon this bruit, despatched commissioners into all parts of England, to muster the train-soldiers, and to command them to be in a readiness, which whether it shall go forward or not I cannot affirm, that other fear being cleared.

In the Low Countries, there seems to be hot war; the Pope, Cardinals, Emperor, Spaniard, and divers prelates, combining together, not only against Brandenburg, in favour of Newberg, but against divers imperial towns, which they pretend to have shaken off the yoke of their obedience. I have sent you a list of all their forces, with every one's device or not. Akers and Wesel they have taken; some say, Mewlam likewise. The States have taken, in countermarching, Emmersck. His majesty, by Sir John Wotton's means, meditates a friendly conclusion, which, if the States will quit the towns fixed upon by them, they say is likely to succeed. But their (the Spaniard's) sincere and honest meaning is much misdoubted.

The archbishop hath been lately in great danger of death, from a fish's bone, which stuck in his throat as he was one day at dinner, and could not a long time be removed. The doctors gave him over as desperate; yet, at length, Dr. Gulston found means to relieve him, though the extremity of the anguish cast him into a burning fever, whereof he is now nevertheless recovered. Monsieur Floyd, clerk of the kitchen to the prince, died lately very suddenly, being well at ten of the clock at night, and playing at tables with Shaw, quarter visiter, and dead at one, which is all that the time either suffereth or offereth.

*Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.,
at Tours.*

London, September 17, 1614.

The master of the Rolls¹ is dead, leaving the succession of his place to Sir Julius Cæsar, who is to quit his chan-

¹ Sir Edward Phillips.

cellorship of the Exchequer either to Sir Thomas Lake, or Mr. Deckam, but to which is yet uncertain. The more general voice confers it upon the latter. The Lady Arabella lies dangerously sick; and the Countess of Shrewsbury (out of passion, it seems) like to fall into a dead palsy. My Lord Lisle's son¹ shall marry with Watson's daughter, of the Exchequer. The match is concluded, as they say, and shall be solemnized some time next Michaelmas term. Sir John Digby returns this next week for Spain; and is to take his voyage by land. Sir Henry Wotton is much complained of by the States, as having been the chief cause of the loss of Wesel; he entertaining them so long with delays, that they came two days short of the relief. But how justly they censure him I know not.

My Lady Grantham² hath been lately sick of the small-pox, which was the occasion of breaking off the intended meeting at Sir John Ferrars's, when some were onward on their way. But she is now recovered.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Mr. Isaac Wake.³

London, October 12, 1614.

Coming to town the last week, I met with the unexpected news of my lord ambassador's removing from Venice being countermanded, which I could not at first believe till Mr. Secretary himself confirmed it anew unto me, and that there was order gone three or four several ways to stay and cause him to return, though he were well advanced in his journey, as I make no question but he was. The reason of all this you know better than we can aim at here, though I partly guess at the motives of this sudden resolution, which are scant worth the trouble and disturbance it brings with it, which must needs be extraordinary, having disfurnished himself of all things necessary upon his departure, and I doubt he will return but slen-

¹ Lord L'Isle had two sons; Sir William Sydney, who died unmarried; and Sir Robert, afterwards K. B., and second Earl of Leicester, who married Dorothy, daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland.

² Sister of Sir Thomas Puckering.

³ Afterwards Sir Isaac Wake, his majesty's agent at Venice.

derly accompanied, if he meet with these directions on this side of the mountains: for that some will be loath to repass them, if they have once overcome the worst of the journey. But howsoever it be, seeing *sic visum est superis*, they must break through all difficulties, and digest all as well as they may, being, as I presume, but for a small time, or till the spring at furthest. I shall long very much to hear the success of this business, and to have them handsomely settled there again, till when I shall not know or to whom to write but to yourself, as occasion shall be presented, wishing, that if I write any thing worth their knowledge, you would acquaint them with it.

Since my last letters, here have been some alterations by the death of Sir Edward Phillips,¹ master of the Rolls, whose heart was so great, that he could not endure so much discountenance and disgrace lately laid upon him. He left no great matters behind him for a man of his place, port, and long practice, some good part of his lands being subject to sale for his debts, of £10,000 or £12,000. Sir Arthur Ingram hath buried his dainty young lady, who died in four or five days of squinancy.

Mr. Henry Howard's² young wife³ hath brought him a son upon so just and even a reckoning, that there is not a day lost from the date of their marriage.

Sir Julius Cæsar is settled in the mastership of the Rolls, but hath four judges appointed to assist and sit with him, which is some diminution to a man of so much confidence in his own sufficiency, besides the loss of place and precedence he had by his former offices; which points, if he had well ruminated before, it is thought he would not have been so hasty to exchange. Sir Fulk Greville succeeds him as chancellor and under treasurer of the Exchequer. Many marvel that a man of his years, wealth, and retired life, should affect such a place; but every body hath a doting time, and ambition is blind. The mastership of the Wards is conferred upon the Lord Knollys, so that this week we have four new officers, with the lord

¹ He died September 11, 1614.

² One of the sons of the Earl of Suffolk.

³ Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of William Basset, of Blore, in the county of Stafford.

treasurer at Westminster, that sit in principal places in the Exchequer, Chancery, and Court of Wards.

On Friday, Sir Charles Cornwallis is expected in the Star Chamber. Sir Walter Chute was released the last week on these conditions—to lose his place about the king; to pay his own charges, that come to better than £110; and not to depart at any time above three miles from his father's house. But it is not the least of their punishments, that he and his fellows are shouted by waggish wits with a rhyme, that

The council, in committing four,
Sent eight humours to the Tower:
Hoskyns by fits merry and sad;
Dr. Sharpe soberly mad;
Sir Charles Cornwallis carelessly precise;
Sir Walter Chute ignorantly wise.

Sir John Digby, with his lady and family, are lately returned for Spain, taking the way of Plymouth by land, and so over to St. Sebastian's.

The aid, or free gift, goes on slowly, yet with well working I think it will rise to the value of a subsidy, or better. Here is order for musters in all shires out of hand, and this town hath already 6000 in readiness, very well and gallantly appointed.

The king and prince are at Royston, whither Mr. Secretary went the beginning of this week, and makes account to go and come once in six or eight days.

The company of Merchant Adventurers is dissolved, and their charter cancelled, which may prove a matter of dangerous consequence many ways; but we are in the course of trying conclusions. Those that had the licence for making of glasses, after much trouble and contestation, have delivered up their patent, and put out their fire, upon poor composition, being forced to give way to others, that have undertaken to perform it with Scottish coal.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 4, 1614.

Mr. Secretary meant to write to you this day, if some extraordinary business came not in the way. Sir Henry

Saville¹ was there last night at supper, and to my seeing is in better point and liking than he was for any time these seven years. Sir Alexander Hampden was there likewise, who is now concluding matches for his three nieces, the Lady Winwood's sister's daughters, with young Hampden, Sir John Dormer's and Sir Thomas Denton's heirs, and will assure better than £2000 among them.

Mr. Secretary hath made a purchase there, of late, of about £800 a-year, so that he hath now better than £1000 land in Buckinghamshire. He goes over the next week towards Newmarket to the king, who, upon Saturday last, had a dangerous fall with his horse hunting, yet without any great hurt more than a bruise in his side and arm, by the weight of his horse that lay upon him. Butler was sent for from Cambridge, who would have let him blood and purged him the next day; but, because he rested reasonably well that night, he would not be persuaded to it, but only useth outward means. The council wrote to condole the mischance, and congratulated the escape with a reverent advertisement, that he would be more careful hereafter. The queen wrote to have leave to come and see him, but it was thought needless.

Some unkind and rough words passed there lately 'twixt the Earl of Montgomery and the Lord Walden about hunting matches. The fortune of Villiers, the new favourite, seems to be at a stand, or, at least, not to go very fast forward; for when it was expected he should be made of the bedchamber, one Carre, a bastard kinsman of the lord chamberlain's, is stept in and admitted to the place, and yet most men do not believe that the world goes altogether so well on that side as it was wont.²

¹ Knighted by James, who entertained the highest opinion of his abilities. He had had the honour of instructing Queen Elizabeth in Greek and mathematics, was an accomplished scholar, and had been elected provost of Eton, where he died in 1622. He was the author and editor of several learned works, and had founded professorships in geometry and astronomy in his college, Merton, Oxford, of which he had been a fellow and Warden.

² Archbishop Abbot, in his narrative, printed in Rushworth, vol. i., p. 456, observes that King James, growing weary of the Earl of Somerset for many insolencies, and the kingdom groaning under the triumvirate of Northampton, Suffolk, and Somerset (though Northampton died soon after)—“we could,” says he, “have no way so good to effectuate that which was the common desire, as to bring in another in his room. It was now observed that the king began to cast his eye upon George Villiers, who was the cup-bearer, and seemed a modest and courteous youth.”

Among other projects and devices for money, here is a commission to inquire and survey all buildings that have been erected since Michaelmas the first year of the king, in London, or seven miles compass about it, contrary to certain proclamations. And they think to raise a great mass of money by this course; but I fear they will come very short of their reckoning, for most of the builders are beggarly companions, and so are the inhabitants, and withal it is thought strange that it should extend to so large a circuit, and to houses that have good store of lands laid to them. So that population shall be as much punishable as depopulation.

The brewers are likewise dealt withal to pay five-pence upon every barrel, to avoid taking off beer for the king's household; and though they have made long resistance, yet it is doubted they must yield in the end, for their beer is sometimes taken from them by force. And if this course prevail, it will prove *initium malorum*, for what can hinder to impose two shillings as well as two-pence, if necessities grow as they begin, *et sic de ceteris*?

Here is a Jew pirate arrested that brought three prizes of Spaniards into Plymouth; he was set out by the King of Morocco, and useth Hollanders' ships, and, for the most part their marines. But it is like he shall pass it over well enough, for he pretendeth to have leave of licence under the king's hand for his free egress and regress, which was not believed upon the first sight, till he made proof of it.

Sir Thomas Roe is in speech to be sent ambassador, as from the king, by the East India Company, to the Great Mogul;¹ and, if his allowance be so large as it is

¹ Sir Thomas set sail for the East Indies in the beginning of March, 1614-15. He had been sent by Prince Henry in search of discoveries in America, and had been knighted by King James. He resided at the court of the Great Mogul till 1618, whence he proceeded to that of Shah Abbas, in Persia. In 1621, he went as ambassador to the Sublime Porte—in a similar capacity, in 1629, he was sent to effect a peace between the Kings of Poland and Sweden, and was employed in some other missions in Germany, and subsequently filled the posts of privy councillor, chancellor of the Garter, and member for the University of Oxford. He died in 1644; having previously published accounts of his travels in the East and embassies, and left in MS. a relation of the proceedings of the diet held at Ratisbon in 1640 and 41, in which he assisted, and a journal of the proceedings of the Knights of the Garter.

reported, it goes far beyond the best ambassador the king hath abroad.

The term grows old, and generally men leave this town apace, being commanded by a late proclamation.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 16, 1614.

The news of the Spaniard's manner of dealing with the Duke of Savoy is very unwelcome hither, and much detested; but perhaps the first alarm is loudest, and his case not altogether so desperate as is here imagined. Your next letters will bring some certainty; till when, we are all in suspense, and doubt the worst.

Their proceedings in the late treaty in the Low Countries hath been so cautelous, that we know not where to lay the fault that no better effects have followed. Neither, as it seems, do the actors or ambassadors themselves well understand how the case stands; at leastwise, they cannot hitherto make others understand it clearly; so that our old friend¹ there hath imputations enough; but how he deserves them, God knows; yet he is generally thought not to be for that turn, the rather for that it seems he is not sufficiently furnished with French, but negotiates altogether in Italian. Mr. Edmondes,² clerk of the council, is going over to the Hague, assisted with two merchants, Middleton and Abbot (the Lord of Canterbury's brother), to treat with the States about certain difficulties betwixt us and them, touching the trade of the West Indies and the fishing at Greenland. Sir Henry Wotton is to combine in the business during his abode there, which he is willing to continue till some twenty or thirty days before he is to be sent to succeed you.

Mr. Finet is returned out of Spain, whither he carried a rabblement of presents, as pied bulls and kine, greyhounds, spaniels, water dogs, cormorants, hunting horses, nags, stone-bows, cross-bows, curious pieces, trunks, and many things else that I remember not, and for his reward had but a chain of £200 value, and no much money to distri-

¹ Sir Henry Wotton.

² Clement Edmondes.

bute among his company, which was so unequally divided, or they so unreasonable, that they fell out for it shamefully.

The Earl of Ormond¹ is dead in Ireland, who was the greatest man of estate in that country, and an ancient Knight of the Garter. The greatest part of his inheritance falls to a kinsman, his daughter not carrying away above £1200 land. The Bishop of St. David's is not dead,² but only in danger; but we are here so hungry and sharpset, that there is nothing got by tarrying or showing of modesty.

Dudley Norton had, in a sort, almost supplanted Sir Richard Cooke, and gotten a grant of both his places in Ireland, upon suggestion that he was grown weak and unserviceable. But Sir Richard saith he hath gotten it reversed, yet with this composition that he is to have a pension of £200 a-year if he part with the secretaryship, but he will not leave his chancellorship of the exchequer, because it is the only means to come by his pension.

Mr. Secretary came from Newmarket this day seven-night, and went yesterday to meet the king at his coming to Theobalds. You must think he hath his head full, when it is certainly bruited (and not improbably, as the world goes) that Sir Fulk Greville is to leave his chancellorship of the exchequer to be made a baron and principal secretary, and to have the seals. But how this comes about, and with what conditions, I had rather you should hear of others. But sure, if this fall out, if I were Mr. Secretary, I should break up school and go to play, for this is no world to shine in by plain dealing.³

The chancellorship of the exchequer stands betwixt Sir Thomas Lake, who is thought to be —— in the house, and Mr. Deckham, a necessary implement, that already takes upon him a kind of countenance by settling himself at Wanstead for his own country mansion, and hiring a very fair house not far from Whitehall.

¹ Thomas Butler, K.G., tenth Earl of Ormonde and Earl of Ossory, commonly called, from the darkness of his complexion, "the Black Earl." He had been lord treasurer of Ireland.

² He died in March, 1614-15.

³ Master Chamberlain, faithful intelligencer as he was, never wrote a truer sentence.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 22, 1614.

I have had so very little leisure these two or three days since the receipt of your letter of the 24th of the last, that I could make no great inquiry after your Don Diego,¹ but only have learned that such a one is lately come to the Earl of Exeter; and, as I hear more, you shall have it hereafter.

I know not what to write touching your remove, which I see you linger so much after; for, as I would willingly give you all the comfort I could, so should I be loath to feed you with vain and uncertain hopes, unless I had better ground. I assure you I put our good friend² in mind of you as often as I come in his way, but his silence or cold answers give me no great comfort; I find him as friendly and familiar towards me as ever heretofore, and he never comes home, but I am summoned and sent for, and, when he is well disposed, we have long and free speech. But it might come of itself; for I see it is a tedious thing to be still spurring of questions, and it makes me remember the old rule, *percontatorem fugito*; and, indeed, I perceive I should not need to ask anything concerning you when he hath aught that is pleasing, for he poureth it out so soon as he sees me. And therefore be assured, you cannot want what lies in him to do; but I doubt you must seek help whence you had the last; and, for aught I can learn, you need not fear a winter journey. It will come opportunely enough towards the spring. But the worst I gather is, that Sir Harry Wotton would build his tabernacle where he is, and labours to put off his extraordinaryship for the ordinary place; for so he hath given out to divers captains, which I am sure they are nothing willing to hear; neither do I hope shall he prevail, especially having given no better taste either there or here. It is doubted that his secretary Mountford, the doctor of physic's son, is cast away coming from Flushing; for he hath been long missing, and Burlamachi fears he hath lost a man in the same passage.

¹ A Spanish servant to William Lord Roos.

² Secretary Winwood.

The king came to town on Monday, but finds so little pleasure in being here, that yesterday he went to Hampton Court for two or three days. I make account that, before his going hence, your business will be resolved one way or other; and yet they have many other irons in the fire that press them nearer, specially the providing of money, which is a main work, and will hardly be compassed, when the world is become so bare, that there is little superfluity, and that but in few hands. But it is doubted we shall see strange projects set on foot, and yet all will not help. In the mean time, nobody almost is paid, which is a pitiful case, specially for the poor, that complain grievously; but necessity hath no law, and order is taken, they say, that all pensions shall cease; but, for other abatements or diminishing of ordinary or extraordinary charge, we hear none.

The Lord Walden is captain of the pensioners, and hath procured them double allowance of that they had before. His brother Henry is lieutenant. The Lord of Burleigh is a suitor, and like to carry the Earl of Northumberland's eldest daughter, which some think may be a means of her father's delivery; but he is so well inured to a restrained life, that were it not that the world takes notice that he is in his prince's displeasure, he would not seek to change.

The last week, Albert Morton was sworn clerk of the council extraordinary; and, I hear, is toward marriage. He should have been going to the Duke of Savoy, and is still hastened on, but he wants his golden feathers to fly withal, and can get no money. Sir Moyle Finch died this week, and hath left his eldest son but £100 a-year more than he had before, during his mother's¹ life.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 12, 1614-15.

The only matter I can advertise, since I wrote the last week, is the success of the masque on Twelfth-night, which

¹ Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, created Viscountess Maidstone, in July, 1623, and Countess of Winchelsea, in July, 1628.

was so well liked and applauded, that the king had it represented again the *Sunday* night after, in the very same manner, though neither in device nor show was there anything extraordinary, but only excellent dancing; the choice being made of the best, both English and Scots. But there fell out an accident before it began, that had almost marred the play,¹ for the Spanish ambassador being invited, when he understood that Sir Noel Carew was likewise to be there, he protested against it, saying, he was not to be present where a servant of his master's vassal should be covered, or appear in quality of ambassador, against which exceptions there was much dispute 'twixt him and the lords then present, and many messages passed to and fro between them and the king. But, in conclusion, he would by no arguments nor precedents be persuaded, but said it was contrary to his instructions; and so, retiring himself, went back the same way he came. Whereupon, Sir Noel Carew was wished to retire likewise, and absent himself. The next day, the Spanish ambassador required audience, which was appointed him at three o'clock, and was willed to bring his instructions with him; but he neither came nor sent that day; which unmannerly part I know not how he excused at his next audience, which was the Monday or Tuesday following; nor how he justified his bravery, which is much spoken of, and like to breed no good blood neither here nor in Holland, whither Carew made a despatch the same night. It is observed, that the Spaniards brave more now a-days, on a sudden, than they have done of later time; which shows, that they have some great hopes at hand; or that they presume as much of others' weakness as of their own strength.²

The king removes hence this day towards Royston and Newmarket, where he means to tarry till Shrovetide, and not to come again at Candlemas (February 2), as he was wont to do. There have been some brabbles at court this Christmas; whereof some have been taken up and ended by the lords of the Marshal's Court, especially between

¹ See Sir John Finet's "Observations touching Foreign Ambassadors," p. 19, et seq.

² Another proof of Master Chamberlain's clear-sightedness.

Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Richard Coxe, one of the masters of the Green Cloth.

Mr. Henry Howard hath lost his little son ; but he is young enough to have more, and proves himself an excellent husband every way. The suit for Mr. Watson's fair daughter goes forward in the Spiritual Court, where one Sir Lewis Watson hath her in chace, and pretends to have sure cards to show : so that the match with young Sir Robert Sidney hangs in suspense, though his mother be very earnest or rather violent for it. But it is thought the young gentleman inclines rather to a daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, and grows weary of hunting in a soiled scent that hath been hunted by so many suitors.

Sir Henry Saville is in town, with his lady and daughters, that he says come up to take physic. It should seem but a light cause, and easily to be cured, when coming but on Tuesday night, they are to be gone again on Saturday !

*John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.*¹

March 31, 1615.

The king came to town this day sevensnight, to the solemnization of his 24th of March,² which passed in the ordinary course of prayers, preaching, shooting of ordnance, ringing, and running at tilt, which was but barely performed every way, the number not exceeding fourteen, which were the Lords Lennox, Arundel, Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset, Walden, with his two brethren, Thomas and Henry, Hay, Dingwall, Sir Thomas Somerset, Sir Robert Rich, and the two Alexanders. He made no longer stay here than till Monday after dinner, for it seems the air or business of this town do not agree with his constitution. But his journey was no further than Hampton Court, Oking, or some places thereabouts, whence he returns on Saturday.

During his abode here he was troubled once or twice with Sir Arthur Ingram, who is loth to dislodge, or leave

¹ Now ambassador at Turin.

² The anniversary of the king's accession to the crown.

his hold, being no doubt animated underhand to wrangle and struggle against the king's express words and meaning, which were, that he should only retain the name and the fee till Michaelmas, when his money being repaid, he should leave the place. In the mean time, he should neither keep the table nor meddle with the accounts. Now having furnished his lodging at court with rich hangings, bedding, and silver vessel, on Friday last he sent for his diet, which being refused him by the officers, he complained; and by the assistance of some great lords, prevailed thus far that it was to be allowed him till this day, by the king's own appointment, who said he had deserved better of him than to be sent away utterly discountenanced. The next week he is to go into Yorkshire, about the alum business for the king, and at his return he pretends to go to the spa for his health, whither it was said, likewise, that the Lady of Suffolk had a meaning to take a journey this summer. But I think it will not hold.

If this business of Ingram's had not been, I know not how we should have entertained ourselves for this whole month together. It hath filled both court and city with daily news and discourse; wherein some proceed so far as to make the success thereof a matter of greater consequence, and that concerns men in higher rank, though, for mine own part, I can yet discern no turning of the tide, but that the water runs still the same way.

Once Ingram himself is anatomized in every part, and so canvassed to and fro, that he had been a hundred times better to have been without this new honour, though they say he be in possibility to be a *clarissimo*, if, according to articles, he should marry Mrs. Clare, a fair, gentle maid, that hath a fine boy of her own. And now in matter of boys and wenches — the Lord Coke's eldest son's wife, sister to the young Lord Berkley, brought him lately a son, which lasted but a few days. The Lady of Montgomery, the Lady Haddington, and Sir Horace Vere's lady, lie in all at once of daughters.

Here be two proclamations come out this week: the one against sending of children or relief to seminaries abroad;

the other, against exportation of gold or silver, plate or jewels.

The Earl of Thomond, by the king's consent, hath compounded with the Earl of Danvers for the presidentship of Munster in giving him £3200, which comes ill to pass for Sir Richard Morrison, who had long since given earnest upon that bargain.

Mayerne, or Turquet, the French physician, is returned out of France, and brought over Moulin, the minister, with him, but I think not to remain here. Dr. Smith, the provost of King's College in Cambridge, is lately dead, and much canvassing for the place. Dr. Milbourne, Dean of Rochester, hath his *congé d'elire* for St. David's, in Wales. John Donne¹ and one Cheke went out doctors at Cambridge, with much ado after our coming away, by the king's express mandate, though the vice-chancellor and some other of the heads called them openly *filios noctis et tenebriones*, that sought thus to come in at the window when there was a fair gate open. But the worst is that Donne had gotten a reversion of the Deanery of Canterbury; if such grants could be lawful, whereby he hath purchased himself a great deal of envy, that a man of his sort should seek, *per saltum*, to intercept such a place from so many more worthy and ancient divines.

The king hath a meaning and speeches much of it to go privately to Cambridge, to see two of the plays, and hath appointed the 27th of the next month. But it is not like he will continue in that mind, for of late he hath made a motion to have the actors come hither, which will be a difficult thing to persuade some of them, being preachers and bachelors of divinity, to become players any where but in the University, which was incongruity enough, and whereto the Oxford men took exception. They have offered at two or three bald ballads, which are such poor

¹ He was made a doctor of divinity. He was a poet of much quaintness of thought mingled with deep and cutting satire, and was a divine who wrote with fervour and strength. Setting aside a good deal of pedantic affectation, his works, both in prose and verse, show him to be a profound thinker. He had been abroad accompanying different embassies, and had looked into the world as well as into books. He died in 1623-4, and was buried in St. Paul's, of which he had been dean. His son, Dr. John Donne, was also an author, and is said to have stood high in the favour of Charles II., but fell very far short of the ability of his father. He died in 1662.

stuff, they be not worth the looking after. But I hear they have it better in a freshman's letter to his mother, wherein he relates somewhat handsomely all that passed. If I can come by it, and that it be worthy the sending, you shall hear of it.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 20, 1615.

Upon notice of the present departure of a messenger towards Turin, I wrote yesterday to your sister upon short warning. But, understanding since that his despatch is prolonged till this day, I would not omit to advertise the little we have here stirring, though I know you shall have more ample and perfect relation of all things by Mr. Wake's letters, and shortly by himself, he being to come towards you within five or six days at furthest. I doubt not but the post despatched to you about a fortnight is arrived by this time, by whose letters you may perceive we are so inclined to peace ourselves, that we wish all our friends to be of the same mind, and to refuse no conditions. And we are so credulous in this point, that, let the other side do what they will, so they say they have a good meaning, we are ready to believe them, for *facile credimus quod volumus*. And indeed, as the case stands, it is the best way. It were to no purpose to show our teeth unless we could bite. You may easily imagine how well we are provided to furnish our friends abroad, when we have not means to discharge ordinary and necessary expences at home, and that continual clamour and importunity cannot procure ambassadors' entertainments that are so far in arrearages. Yet still there are promises that they shall be supplied, and days appointed from week to week. Yet no payments come, nor any appearance whence they should come. But you must not be discouraged, for delays will have an end, and when matters are at the worst they must mend.

This term draws to a conclusion, and hitherto hath brought little novelty, only young Owen,¹ that I wrote of,

¹ Of the family of that name at Godstow, in Oxfordshire.—*Camdeni Annalis Regis Jacobi*, p. 12.

was arraigned at the King's Bench on Wednesday, and condemned for divers most vile and traitorous speeches, confessed and subscribed with his own hand; as, among others, that it was as lawful for any man to kill a king excommunicated, as for the hangman to execute a condemned person. He could say little for himself, or in maintenance of his desperate positions, but only that he meant it not by the king, and that he holds him not excommunicated. He is not yet executed, nor I hear not when he shall. There was one Ogilvie, a Jesuit, lately executed at Glasgow, in Scotland, for the same or such like opinions.¹

On Monday, our new knights of the Garter, Lord Fenton and Lord Knollys, ride to Windsor, with great preparation, as though to vie with one another who shall make the best show. And though I am of opinion that the latter will carry it by many degrees, by reason of his alliance with the house of the Howards, Somerset, Salisbury, Dorset, with many other great families, that will bring him their friends and most part of the pensioners, yet most are persuaded that the other will bear away the bell, as having the best part of the court, all the bed-chamber, all the prince's servants and followers, with an hundred of the Guard, that have new rich coats, made on purpose; besides Sir George Villiers, the new favourite, and Mr. Secretary, whose presence had been better forborne, in my judgment, for many respects, but that every man abounds in his own sense.

The place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports hath, since the death of the Earl of Northampton, remained in the lord chamberlain's hands as *in deposito*. Of late there hath been speech to bestow it upon the Lord Zouch, or rather, as the voice goes now, on the Lord of Montgomery. But the lord chamberlain² makes profession to hold it still; and, wheresoever the stop was, his patent was drawn above a month ago. And though, perhaps, he made no great use nor account of it, yet he would not have it seen

¹ These bold spirits were showing themselves with an ominous frequency and audacity, notwithstanding torture, "by express command of the king," and death, entirely by his majesty's influence over the judges, were employed to silence them.

² The Earl of Somerset.

that it can be wrested from him, in which regard he makes more show, now the world thinks him in the wane, than ever heretofore.¹ His lady is given out to be with child; but most men, upon what ground I know not, are of opinion it will not prove so.

On Saturday last, the king went again to Cambridge, to see the play "Ignoramus," which hath so nettled the lawyers, that they are almost out of all patience; and the lord chief justice,² both openly at the King's Bench, and divers other places, hath galled and glanced at scholars with much bitterness; and there be divers Inns of Court have made rhimes and ballads against them, which they have answered sharply enough; and, to say truth, it was a scandal rather taken than given, for what profession is there, wherein some particular persons may not be justly taxed, without imputation to the whole? But it is the old saying, *consciens ipse sibi*, and they are too partial to think themselves *sacro sancti*, that they may not be touched.

The king had a Latin sermon on Sunday, and disputations on Monday, before his coming away.

Dr. Neville, dean of Canterbury, and master of the Trinity College, died three weeks since. The deanery was given to one Fotherbie, that was archdeacon there before. The mastership of Trinity College is not yet bestowed, but lies between Dr. Richardson, the divinity reader, and Dr. Paske, that was of the same house. The Bishop of Salisbury³ is lately dead, and great means made that Dr. —, of Oxford,⁴ should succeed him. Sir William Lower died not long since in Wales. His lady, after long absence, was come to him little more than a month before his decease.

Sir Humphrey May hath newly buried his lady, that was Sir William Uvedale's sister, and died here in child-bed. I hear Sir Henry Saville and his lady and daughter are in town, but I have not seen them. Young Sedley is gone into France, where Christopher, the Frenchman that served Sir Thomas Bodley, might have done him some good

¹ Somerset was "on the wane," most certainly.

² Sir Edward Coke.

³ Dr. Henry Cotton.

⁴ Dr. Robert Abbot succeeded to the see of Salisbury.

service, but he parted with him before his going, upon what occasion I know not.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 15, 1615.

The last I wrote to you was by Mr. Wake, and the last I had from you came by Mr. Garaway, though I saw him not, being returned, as I hear, towards you before I came to town, at the beginning of this term, which hath hitherto produced nothing of moment, though the council sit hard in a manner every day, sometimes about the merchants' business, which is not yet fully decided, though the balance incline to the new erected company, for constancy sake, that we should not seem serviceable.

The project of pardons was set on foot again, but finally defeated the last week, as likewise Sylvanus Scory's device for enlarging the privileges of baronets—to be no wards, to be justices of the peace at twenty-one years of age, deputy lieutenants at twenty-five, that their bodies should be free from arrest, with divers other immunities, for which their rate should rise to £3000 a man, whereby the king's wants might be relieved out of the vanity and ambition of the gentry. He had often access to his majesty, and pleased himself much with the invention and hope, that he and his heirs, for this service, should be perpetual chancellors of that order. But, after much discussing, the business was overthrown, and he dismissed with a flout, that *argentum ejus versum est scorium, et aurum in orichalcum*; which, that it might be better understood, was thus Englished—that “his silver was turned to dross, and his gold to brass.”

But the inquiry after new erected buildings within seven miles of this town, since the king's coming in, gets on amain, and the last week the whole council, from the highest to the lowest, brought down a commission, and sat at Guildhall about it. If they should proceed with rigour and extremity, they might raise a great mass of money, it is thought, but it would cause much murmur and complaint.

Here is much speech of new barons to be made for money, which were the less to be misliked if it come to the king's coffers. But the Lord Sheffield, I know not for what service, hath the grant of one, and hath already agreed with Sir Robert Dormer for £10,000; so that it hath passed the seals, and he is to be created some time this week,¹ unless some little controversy prolong it, for that the king will make none but such as will first pass through the order of baronets; and the question is, whether must bear that charge, the buyer or the seller.

Sir George Villiers hath likewise the grant of one, which, it is thought, shall be Sir Nicholas Bacon, upon the same rate, or rather more; and withal he hath a pension of £1000 a-year out of the Court of Wards. Mr. Deckham² hath gotten the reversion of the chancellorship of the Duchy, his patent being fully finished and sealed four or five days, since which is a great step from that he was few years ago.

This day sevensnight, Sir John Kennedy and Sir George Belgrave were committed to the Gatehouse from the council-table, for accusing a gentleman of foul and scandalous speeches against the Duke of Lennox, and, generally, all the Scots, but failing in their proof, this was thought a special good piece of justice.

The same day, Sir Charles Cornwallis, Dr. Sharpe, and Hoskyns, upon their acknowledgment and submission, were delivered out of the Tower, where they have lain a whole year; and it is thought Mr. St. John shall not tarry long after them.

Moulin, the French minister, preached on Tuesday sevensnight before the king with good approbation. He is upon his return homeward, having, besides other presents, a prebend at Canterbury bestowed upon him, worth £200 a year.

The lord treasurer hath been sick these three or four days of a scouring or flux, but I heard yesterday that he was on the mending hand.

¹ He was created Baron Dormer, of Wing, June 30, 1615.—*Camdeni Annalis Regis Jacobi*, i., p. 13.

² Camden, *ut supra*, p. 12, calls him "J. Dacombe."

Sir Fulk Greville is once more in speech to be made a baron and principal secretary ; but, if that fudge not, the Bishop of Winchester¹ is in the way to be lord privy seal, that he may be a counterpoise for many purposes, but specially to keep the seals from some that pretend interest in them. In the mean time, our good friend will not take the alarm, but continues rusty, and will not be won neither by promises nor persuasions.

Mr. Camden hath set out *Annales*² from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign till the end of eighty-eight. He sent me one of them yesterday, which I wish you had with a wish, for I presume that they are as well and indifferently written as the time will afford, and that they will be well received abroad.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 20, 1615.

I acquainted Mr. Secretary with your desire of taking the spa in your way hitherward, but, as far as I can gather by him, there is no hope of it this year, seeing Sir Henry Wotton must first come to you before you can come away. The last time I had speech with him of it, I conceived otherwise that you were to depart presently, for so I understood him, and the time is not so long that I could forget, not being past two days since, nor our communication about it so short or intricate that I could mistake. But say what could be said, I fear it will be toward Michaelmas before you remove. Indeed, if I were not much at his elbow to put him in remembrance of you, I should excuse his backwardness, being so overladen with continual business that I am very welcome to him, as one that troubles him not with any serious affairs, more than at fit times to put him in mind of your business. Wherein, though I have not such full success as I wish, yet I must not complain, seeing he useth me otherwise with such extraordinary favour and familiarity that I cannot grow

¹ Dr. Thomas Bilson.

² " *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, ad annum salutis 1589.*" The first part was printed in folio in 1615; the second, though finished two years later, was not published till after the author's death.

sullen. And his kindness is so much the more to be esteemed, in that he is commonly thought not very affable, but rather harsh and austere. So that though, in particular, I acknowledge a great deal of duty and obligation to him, yet I will not dissemble to you that I am not so wedded to him that I espouse all his actions and opinions. He wins upon the world daily, as well in court as abroad, by his upright and sincere carriage, whereof he makes profession, and is very like to wear out all disadvantages that he came in withal, and to overcome the malice and malignity of his emulators, whereof some grow downward every day, their own courses, indeed, doing them more harm than all their enemies could do ; and it is sign they fear themselves, when they procure such kind of pardons¹ as the lord chancellor says he dare not let pass the great seal, unless he may have a pardon for it. They have missed the mark they shot at in seeking to make the Bishop of Winchester lord privy seal, whom the king hath dismissed with good words, that he thought well of him, and perhaps meant to bestow the place upon him, but he would take his own time, and not do it at other men's influence ; so that he should do well to go home, and when there were use of him, he would send for him.

One of the young Ramsays and Sir — Stewart are gone to travel, both of them being once in a fair way (as they persuaded themselves), to be favourites. Young Gibbe, of the bedchamber, is willed to absent himself, which is taken for an ill sign and cross blow to somebody else. All the reason I can hear is for carrying a scandalous message, and some say a letter to Mrs. Murray, of the queen's bedchamber, from the lord chamberlain.

Sir Arthur Ingram is at last quite cashiered, and on Monday Sir Marmaduke Dayrell is sworn cofferer, and the rest of the officers rise in their order. I hear his great friends and he are fallen out about the reckoning,

¹ This seems to relate to the general pardon which the Earl of Somerset prevailed on the king to give orders for drawing in the most ample manner, but the queen, having notice of it, used her interest with the lord chancellor to suspend the sealing it till the king, then on his progress in the west, should return to town.—*Arthur Wilson's Life of King James*, p. 80. Edit. London, 1653, fo. Also reprinted in White Kennett's "History of England."

and that they reckon him an unfortunate and ominous knave to them. He means, they say, to retire to his place at York, and hath contracted to give Sir Edward Greville £22,000 for the best of his lands, and to marry one of his daughters and heirs.

The Lord Zouch hath his patent signed and sealed for the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, a place he never sought for nor pretended.

The king hath borrowed £30,000 of the aldermen of this city; but what is that among so many that gape and starve after it? All manner of projects are still on foot, but the new buildings bring in most present profit.

Here is a new French ambassador seigneur¹ come, whose name I know not, nor quality, more than he married the chancellor's daughter.² We have likewise a gallant Polonian, well accompanied, son to the late Chancellor Zarnowski. Dickenson, that lay at Düsseldorf in Cleveland, is despatching away upon a message into Polonia.

The Lady Cope lives close at her little house in Drury Lane, and yet she is found out and much visited by cozeners and projectors, that would fain be fingering her money upon large offers. I found there this other day, that I went to her about your money, Sir Richard Gurgrave, Sir Harry Windham; another time, Taverner, and one or two such cheaters, that will quickly strip her of her money if she will not take the better heed; and that is all she hath to trust to, having let go her jointure. She promises to do what lies in her for your £20, but Sir Henry Rich comes little at her, and useth her as a stranger.

The king came to town yesternight, and goes this day towards Windsor, and so on Monday forward in the progress. The queen is likewise going to Bath, which comes ill to pass for these countries they are to pass through, who made petition to be spared this year, in respect of the hard winter and hitherto extreme hot and dry summer, whereby cattle are exceeding poor and like to perish every where.

¹ Le Comte de Maresto.

² Of France.

Old Garaway, the chief of the customs, was knighted on Sunday at Theobalds, as well for other good service as for giving security to the aldermen for the last money, without which they made much difficulty to be brought to it.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is a-foot again, and yesterday was at the council-table. The king hath promised his brother shall be Bishop of Salisbury.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 14, 1615.

The progress draws well to an end, for Mr. Secretary wrote that the king, queen, and prince, were to meet at Windsor the 2nd of the next month, where he expects the seals should be delivered to him, unless some cross accident come in the way, as indeed he hath many traverses and counter-blows, which he bears better and with more patience than I thought he could; but he yields not a whit nor sinks in courage whatsoever happen, but keeps on his course rather to break than to bend or bow.

Sir Thomas Lake is again in full cry to be secretary for home affairs, and the king seems inclined for him or some other; such plotting there is to divert and dissipate the strength and substance of the place, which will be a main hindrance to business, when the least finger may mar as much as the whole hand can make.

I know not how your business goes forward, because I saw him not since the king went hence; but I presume he does not forget you, the rather for that Sir Henry Wotton is daily expected; and by a word or two I saw in his letter, I conceive you may have order to come away before he arrive, your stay being nothing necessary to present him that is already so well acquainted with the place and the affairs of the Low Countries, which were more unfit and less able to endure a vacancy than Venice, as I told him the last time we spake of this matter, upon his urging that you were to stay for his coming.

The Spanish and archduke's ambassadors went the last week to the Earl of Exeter's, at Burghley, and so in pro-

gress to Sir Lewis Tresham's, Sir Anthony Mildmay's, and other places thereabouts, in Northamptonshire.

The Archbishop of Canterbury went a month since with some state into Kent, and keeps house this vacation at Canterbury. He hath been very crazy all this summer, and for all his good order and diet is thought to have but an unsound body. The Lord Zouch is newly gone to his new government,¹ and makes show of great diligence in his charge. The coast towns of Kent are full of French women and children, that come over daily for fear of troubles in those parts.

About a fortnight since here was a great muster of six thousand men, very well armed and furnished at all points.

The Marquis Bonnavet, lieutenant of Picardy under the Duke of Longueville, came over of late and posted to the king, being followed at the heels by the new French ambassador, who is very vigilant and suspicious.

Mr. Secretary's man, Abraham Williams, was despatched away into France presently, upon their being with the king, and hath made a quick return this morning; but I know nothing of his errand.

Our merchants have had great losses of late, by a rich ship cast away in the river of Hamburg. Another was seized at Rouen for exporting forbidden commodities, specially corn, having, besides other gold, above seven thousand Jacobus pieces in specie. But the worst of all was a ship, arrested and taken by force in Spain, that had better than £30,000 in gold and silver.

Sir Thomas Dacres, the sheriff of Hertfordshire, died the very day that the assizes ended, so that the poor condemned persons had a fortnight's respite more than they looked for, till the king had appointed his son, that supplied his place during his sickness, to succeed him for the rest of the year.

Peacham, the minister, after a year's imprisonment in the Tower, was arraigned the 7th of this month at the assizes in Somersetshire, before the lord chief baron and Sir Henry Montagu. Sir Randolph Crew and Sir Henry

¹ Of the Cinque Ports.

Yelverton were sent down to prosecute the business. Seven knights were taken from the bench and appointed to be of the jury. He defended himself very simply, but obstinately and doggedly enough. But this offence was so foul and scandalous, that he was condemned of high treason, yet not hitherto executed nor perhaps shall be, if he have the grace to submit himself and show some remorse.¹

The lord chamberlain² lies much this summer at Grey's, a house of the Lord Knollys by Henley, where his lady makes account to lie in, and they say looks hourly. Yet the world is so incredulous or so malicious that the most part will scant believe there is any such matter.

*King James I. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Suffolk, Mr. Secretary Winwood, and Sir Thomas Lake.*³

Most reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved councillors, we greet you well. We are given credibly to understand that Sir Robert Cotton, Knight, having amassed together divers secrets of State, hath communicated them to the Spanish ambassador, who hath caused them to be copied out and translated into the Spanish tongue. We do authorise and require you to whom these letters are addressed, to call before you the said Robert Cotton; and if you find, by lawful and sufficient proof, the information to be truly grounded, we will and require you to seize upon all his papers and manuscripts in our name and to our use, and to cause them to be brought into our paper chamber at Whitehall, there to be reserved and digested in order by him to whom that charge appertaineth. And further, we do require you to proceed against the person of the said Sir Robert, as in

¹ He died in prison a few months afterwards, no doubt from the effects of the torture he had endured "by express command of the king." He was an old clergyman upwards of sixty, and his offence was, reflecting in a sermon, which he had neither preached nor published, on the king's extravagant expenditure.

² The Earl of Somerset.

³ From a collection of the MS. papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, &c., made by Edward Sawyer, Esq., designed as a continuation of his three volumes of *Memorials of Affairs of State*.

your judgments and consciences you shall hold the nature of his offence justly to deserve.

Dated at Royston, the 20th of October, 1615, in the thirteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the forty-ninth.

JAMES.¹

[Of the numerous discreditable acts which tarnish the reputation of James I., the most infamous is his connection with the worthless adventurer Carr, for whom he disgraced the peerage by raising him to its honours, when he bestowed upon him the Viscountcy of Rochester and Earldom of Somerset. Favouritism has often been urged against Queen Elizabeth as one of her worst faults; but, in excuse for her, it can at least be said that those on whom she bestowed her favour held rank amongst the most gallant of her subjects: and, if we are obliged to dwell upon the scandal which this occasioned, we must not forget her position and celibacy, and the sex of her favourites. Her successor chose to gratify his inclinations by selecting from *his own sex* such as possessed personal recommendations only: for to a handsome countenance and well-shaped limbs he was as sensitive as a schoolgirl; and no jilt on record ever abandoned the object of her attachment for a more desirable lover, than did the king give up his preference when a more attractive candidate for it was presented to his attention. In this way, Carr appeared before the royal coquet, filling the post of equerry to Lord Hay,¹ and the beauty of his face and person made such an impression on his sovereign, that Hay for a time fell into neglect, and his rival was overwhelmed with gifts and honours. We have seen how the property of the gallant Raleigh was swept into

¹ This was not the only time that Sir Robert Cotton's fine collection of books and manuscripts led him into trouble.

² James Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, according to "Burke's Extinct Peerage," was not styled Lord Hay till June, 1615. An account of him has already been given at p. 92; see note.

the vortex of court favouritism : this was however but a small item of the long account of his majesty's skill in robbing Peter to *give* Paul. In other things, the king no less completely lost sight of his position ; but we have only space to allude to his dishonourable proceedings on behalf of his minion, to effect a divorce between the Earl of Essex and the infamous young creature to whom it was his lordship's misfortune to have been married when a boy—the manner in which he tampered with the commissioners appointed to try the petition of divorce forms one of the foulest blots on his very blotted character. But the king had been engaged in a similar transaction for another favourite, before his accession to the English throne.

The young Lady Essex was the daughter of the lord chamberlain, the Earl of Suffolk, and was not less distinguished for her beauty than for her profligacy. She was married to Lord Essex when both were children.¹ He travelled abroad to improve his mind : she remained at court to make the most of her beauty. Among those who enjoyed the reputation of sharing in her favours was Prince Henry ; and Rochester, being himself madly in love with her, is said to have so hated the prince, that when his royal highness died after a short illness, and under very suspicious circumstances, the lookers-on were prompt to suggest poison as the means, and Rochester as the agent. Whatever was said or thought, the king took the most decisive means to screen his protégé : and now, his rival having been removed, was equally active in disengaging the young countess from her husband, that no obstacle should exist to his lawfully obtaining her. Although aided by so powerful and unscrupulous a coadjutor, some of his friends were averse to this union, the most prominent of whom was Sir Thomas Overbury, who had been his counsellor almost ever since his coming to court. Overbury strove all he could to dissuade his friend from the connection, and, finding this ineffectual, expressed his determination to prevent it. This conduct excited the ill feeling

¹ In Wilson's Life of James, there are many curious particulars of her history, no doubt derived from good authority, as the author was a personal friend of her husband.

both of Rochester and the Countess of Essex, and the former induced the king to have him imprisoned in the Tower, after which the lieutenant of that fortress was removed and a creature of Rochester's put in his place. In a few days afterwards, Sir Thomas Overbury died suddenly, and was almost immediately buried. The Countess of Essex's divorce having been granted, she was married in great state to the king's favourite, and for some months the guilty pair enjoyed such happiness as the vicious are allowed : but Detection and Ruin were dogging their steps.

Speaking of the discovery of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder, Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his Autobiography says—"It came first to light by a strange accident of Sir Ralph Winwood, Knight, and one of the secretaries of state ; his dining with Sir Gervase Elwise, lieutenant of the Tower, at a great man's table, the Earl of Shrewsbury's, not far from Whitehall. For that great man commending the same Sir Gervase to Sir Ralph Winwood, as a person, in respect of his many good qualities, very worthy of his acquaintance, Sir Ralph answered him, that he should willingly embrace his acquaintance, but that he could first wish he had cleared himself of a foul suspicion the world generally conceived of him touching the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. As soon as Sir Gervase heard this, being very ambitious of the secretary's friendship, he took occasion to enter into private conference with him ; and therein to excuse himself to have been forced to connive at the said murder, with much abhorring of it ; he confessed the whole circumstances of the execution of it in general, and the instruments to have been set on work, by Robert, Earl of Somerset, and his wife.

"Sir Ralph Winwood, having gained the true discovery of this bloody practice from one of the actors, beyond his expectation, parted from the lieutenant of the Tower in a very familiar and friendly manner, as if he had received good satisfaction by the excuse he had formed for himself, but soon after acquainted the king's majesty with it, who having at that time fixed his eyes upon the delicate personage and features of Mr. George Villiers,¹ he was

¹ Afterwards the celebrated Duke of Buckingham.

the more easily induced to suffer the Earl of Somerset to be removed from his court and presence, to the Tower of London.

“This murder had been long suspected; but none had dared to call the matter in question; especially while the earl was master of the king’s ear, and could advance or depress whom he liked; and, therefore, when he afterwards learned, about the beginning of his troubles, that Sir Ralph Winwood had been the discoverer of his bloody sin, he upbraided him with ingratitude, that, having been advanced by his only means to the secretary’s place, he would now become the instrument of his ruin. But Sir Ralph answered him, that for his secretary’s place he might thank £7000, (if I mistake not the sum a little) which he gave him. And, as for the business in question, he could neither with the safety of his life nor conscience have concealed it, or words to that effect.”

The following letters convey a graphic account of the last moments of some of the criminals engaged in this murder. That a favourite has no friends, is a well known adage; but Somerset had contrived not only to excite the enmity of his less fortunate fellow-courtiers, but it is evident, from a letter lately published,¹ that he had by his conduct, for some time, tried the patience of his volatile master. There is something singularly curious in this written remonstrance from a sovereign to his servant, that prepares the mind for the darker hints and threatened revelations that followed shortly afterwards. There was, however, another reason for the speedy and complete ruin that was then impending.

The fickle king had cast his eyes on George Villiers, whose charms obliterated the impression that Somerset had made upon him². James knew well the value of the old proverb,

“ ’Tis well to be off with the old love,
Before you are on with the new.”

Therefore, when it was clearly proved to him, on the

¹ Halliwell. “Letters of Kings of England,” vol. ii. p. 126.

² “But the truth is, King James was weary of him. Buckingham had supplied his place.”—*Losely MSS.*

most positive evidence, that Somerset and his new-married countess had caused Sir Thomas Overbury to be poisoned, he willingly acceded to their arrest; but to the last moment assumed his customary affectionate demonstrations; for, when the messengers of justice sought the criminal in the royal presence, they found the king embracing his neck and kissing his cheeks. The earl and countess were consigned to the Tower; the former confessed her guilt; but the latter grew bolder the nearer he came to his trial, and ventured to throw out some hints which threatened the king. It has generally been understood, that these menaced disclosures referred to the suspicious death of Prince Henry: it is at least certain, that they threw James into a feverish state of excitement, and he had recourse to most unwarrantable means to induce the prisoner to confess his guilt, and to prevent his implicating him in any way. It is believed, that some negotiation took place, that purchased the criminal's release with his life; for, though Somerset and his mistress were found guilty, on the clearest testimony, they were both pardoned, and survived the king several years.¹ He is believed to have died very poor and miserable; and, if the details given of her death by Wilson are true, her profligate life brought upon her an intolerable punishment.²]

Mr. John Castle to Mr. James Miller, at Southampton.

November, 1615.

You must not be surprised that my letters come so slowly after yours. Mine own private occasions, and my desire to give you a summary of two or three acts of this tragedy³ at one view, have been the means to make me thus tardy.

¹ The historical reader may here refer with advantage to Howell's "State Trials," vol. ii.; to the "Archæologia," vol. xvii.; to the "Reliquiæ Wottoniæ," and to a recent publication, entitled "The Trial of Oyer and Terminer." The letters of James may also be seen in "Halliwell's Letters of the Kings of England," vol. ii.

² "Kennett's History," vol. iii.

³ The murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Since I saw you, I saw Mrs. Turner die.¹ If detestation of painted pride, lust, malice, powdered hair, yellow bands, and all the rest of the wardrobe of court vanities; if deep sighs, tears, confessions, ejaculations of the soul, admonitions of all sorts of people to make God and an unspotted conscience always our friends; if the protestations of faith and hope, to be washed by the same Saviour, and by the like mercies that Mary Magdalen was, be signs and demonstrations of a blessed penitent, then, I will tell you, that this poor broken woman went *a cruce ad gloriam*, and now enjoys the presence of her and our Redeemer. Her body being taken down by her brother, one Norton, servant to the prince, was in a coach conveyed to St. Martin's in the Fields, where, in the evening of the same day, she had an honest and decent burial.

Since her death, I was present at the trial of the lieutenant,² who entered into his answer and defence with so great art, to move affections, and laid his groundwork with so much show of soundness and confidence, binding himself by a protestation to God, that he would not, in the course of his defence, speak a lie to save his life, that all men that had brought thither indifferent ears, both wished him innocent, and expected the conclusion should leave him as they wished. But, after long waste of speech, it fared with him as the old Romans observed some time to happen to those among them, that cried, *Victoriam concedo*, that did *in actu ultimo deficere*. For an examination of Franklin's, taken that very morning, being produced, wherein he confessed the being at the Countess of Essex's chamber, with her and Turner, about the preparing of divers poisons, and a letter from the lieutenant being brought to her at that instant, which she could not, for the badness of the hand, well read, he was commanded, as better acquainted with his character, to read the same unto her; which he did, and whereof he well remembered one chief passage, which was, that this scab is like the ——, the more he is cursed, the more he thrives.³ This passage being urged, he was stricken as with

¹ November 9, 1615, according to Lingard. ² Elwes, lieutenant of the Tower.

³ The poison produced an eruption, which induced his murderers to declare that he had died of *sypphilis*.

a thunderbolt, having nothing to reply further, either in denial or interpretation. Whereupon, there followed the sentence of death, which he underwent the 20th of this present month, at Tower Hill, being the place whereon he had obtained, by his suit to my lord chief justice, and the rest of the commissioners, to suffer, to the end he might avoid the ignominy of the common gibbet.

He came from Newgate, whither, according to the custom of prisoners to be executed, he was first delivered by the sheriff, and on foot passed along the high streets to Tower Hill, having on one hand Dr. Felton, and on the other Dr. Whiting, who, as his spiritual guides and pilots, rested not continually to strengthen him in this tempest, assuring him that he was now within coming of that port where all tranquillity and blessedness attended him. Being come to the place, and having ascended the ladder, he began a well-ordered speech, acknowledging the justice and soundness that had been used towards him in the proceedings, and the gracious favour he had received to be allowed that place to finish his life upon; whence, viewing the stage where he had acted his sin, he might the more deeply imprint the occasions to beget repentance. That if any of his friends had been ill satisfied at the confidence and protestation used on the day of his trial, they would be pleased to excuse him, as being encouraged thereunto out of a persuasion of his innocence, for he had usually, in his prayers, besought of God pardon of other sins, but not this touching Overbury's death, never thinking the concealing of a sin to have been a sin. But, since his condemnation, those holy men (meaning the doctors, his confessors) had made him see this fearful error, and the ugly face of his sin, which was great and bloody; for that when it was in his power to have hindered the proceedings of the prisoners, he suffered them to go on to the murdering of an honest gentleman, and one that had commended himself to his trust, whereby he became guilty (though no actor), not only in his blood, but was in some sort as a cause *sine qua non* of their blood that were dead for the fact before him, and of the effusion of theirs to follow, which were many. He added, that worldly

respects had been begetters of his sin in him; and that he had notes and instructions from time to time from the Earl of Northampton and Sir Thomas Monson for the usage of his prisoner, of whom, and of all other persons and circumstances belonging to that subject, he had the Sunday before given a full and true confession to my lord chief justice. That he had taken the seals of the precious body and blood of Christ upon it as a sign of the truth of his confession, and would now with his own blood (though the same was most base and impure, and unworthy to have mention after the other) witness that he had delivered all the truth that was within his knowledge.

He passed from thence to recite the infinite mercies of God, that had not taken him away by any sudden judgment, either by water, by shooting the bridge, or by walking in the streets, or by an ordinary visitation in his bed, by either of which, if he had died, he thought he had departed in a fearful estate, not having been possessed of the knowledge nor of the contrition due for such a heinous sin. He proffered his true and unfeigned sorrow for it, with assured hope that he was bound up in the bundle of the living; and that the blessed angels were now about him, to carry his soul within ten minutes to those eternal mansions where he should see his Saviour face to face.

Then he made a most fervent and devout prayer. After, he exhorted all that saw him, to take heed of looseness of life and hypocrisy, telling them that his youth had been riotous and wasteful; repeating two judgments wherein God had found him in this very business, the one for having wished upon a time, when he had lost much by gaming, that God would give him grace to forbear it, and that, if he ever played again, hanging might be his end: which, said he, is now come upon me, for, allured by company, it was not long after that I broke this vow and wish. The next was his excessive pride in the faculty of his pen, wherein Northampton, and others of able judgment, had given him much commendation, as having more ableness than other men. And now he found that his own handwriting proved a snare to take his life. For, he said, he thought in his conscience, if it had not been for that letter men-

tioned in Franklin's confession, he had not now lost his life; protesting that he could not yet bring to mind why he wrote any such letter to the countess. He told the people that he knew what infamy such a kind of death had which he was presently to undergo; but the manner of it presented itself to his consideration as a physical potion come to the hand of a patient, who doth swallow it down, not fastening upon the colour and bitterness, but upon the end to which it delivers him.

And so, having covered his face, he made another prayer, and, opening his face a little, again he bade them all farewell, and to pray at that instant for him. Then, covering himself again, calling upon the name of God with more than manly courage, with the touch of the executioner he went down from the ladder. Thus have you a mangled relation of some of the observable passages in these two acts, which you must take in good part, being scribbled in great haste.

The next that follows upon the stage is Franklin, who was yesterday arraigned at Westminster, and sentenced to die at Tyburn. On Thursday next Sir Thomas Monson comes to the bar. The bill of his indictment was found by the grand inquest to be *billa vera* on Thursday last.

It is generally said that the Lord Somerset shall come to his trial on the 5th of December. He still seems not to be shaken with these storms, making great protestations to the lieutenant present what he will do when he shall resume his wonted station and brightness. If this constancy and carelessness be of innocency, I should admire him as a man that hath his mind of an admirable building, but if it proceed from insensibleness, I will pity him as more wretched than those that have been found innocent.

I have sent you two letters of the countess's, urged at Turner's arraignment. You will see by them how abusively her lust wronged those great judgments that spake for her separation from that noble Essex, upon whom she practised *magiam maleficam*. If Cornelius Agrippa were again to compile his book, *De Beneficiis*, I doubt not but he might have from her magicians such *arcana* to increase and recommend it, that the Bohemian ladies would more

value him than to suffer him, as they did, to die like a poor beggarly knave.¹

William Monson has been lately sent for to appear here, but cannot be found. Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquary, hath withdrawn himself, *et in angulis latet*. Jewels of the Lord of Somerset's to the value of £60,000 were lately surprised, that had been committed to Cotton's house.

The Earl of Northampton's name was much used at the arraignment of the lieutenant. His letters to Somerset were read, touching the marriage of his lordship with that virtuous lady, his kinsman. It would turn chaste blood into water to hear the unchaste and unclean phrases that were contained in them.²

*Sir John Throckmorton to Mr. William Trumbull.*³

December 1, 1615.

I have received yours, written at your landing at Dunkirk; and I doubt not by that you have heard that Gervase Helwysse⁴ was hanged on Tower Hill, accusing there openly the Earl of Northampton and Sir Thomas Monson for drawing him to this villany, which brought him to that shameful end. He confessed that he died justly for the fact, and commended the justice of the king and state. He hath impeached many, as he said, for the clearing of his conscience. Some are in the Tower, some in the city, and some in the country. Believe me, sir, the lords commissioners are perplexed, as not yet seeing the end or bottom of this business.

Upon Thursday last, Sir Thomas Monson was indicted as being accessory to the death of Overbury, and upon Thursday next he shall be arraigned at the Guildhall of London. There are twelve persons detected to have a

¹ Forman, a sort of wizard, had been much employed by the countess and other women of her stamp; and it is said that Coke, whilst examining a little book in which the wizard made entries of his consultations, found on the first page the name of his own wife.

² Had not Lord Northampton escaped by death a few months before these atrocities were discovered, this worthless son of a most worthy father would have stood as good a chance of dying on a gallows as the worst of his accomplices.

³ Resident from King James I. at Brussels.

⁴ Elwes.

finger in this poisoning business; three executed already: then the earl and his lady, Franklin, Savery, Horne, Monson, Margaret, Stephen, and Monson's man.

The earl seems little to care for this aspersion, and shows no manner of change in his countenance, which is strange, seeing by manifest proofs it is otherwise, which was delivered in public courts; but he knoweth not what is done or said abroad, being a close prisoner. I hear the lieutenant of the Tower hath now commission to acquaint him with the arraignments and executions past, and with the discovery of his casket, wherein strange letters appear touching the business in hand, and others also, as is supposed. The Lady Somerset's furthest reckoning is three weeks before Christmas, which is now at hand. She is very pensive and silent, and much grieved; so it is thought she hath come to the knowledge of the proceedings abroad by some of her servants that attend her.

We hope, upon the king's return, that my Lord Pembroke shall be lord chamberlain. We hear that in February next the purpose of calling a parliament doth hold. It is said that the lord deputy of Ireland makes means to leave that government, and that he shall come over.

By passengers, which yesterday arrived here from London, I understand that on Monday last Franklin was executed; and that yesterday Sir Thomas Monson was to be arraigned, who will undoubtedly pass the same passage which his other wicked companions have gone before him. There is an eye cast upon some others, the best of his own tribe also. You may easily guess whom I mean. The next who will play their part in this tragedy will be the earl and his lady; and then we shall undoubtedly be able to see into the bottom of this, and their other wicked practices.

Sir John Throckmorton to Mr. Trumbull.

December 7, 1615.

My last out of England were of the 2nd of this month, which say there is a commission sent over to the chancellor

and chief justice of Ireland to govern the kingdom, and that the deputy is dismissed. Sir John Digby is sent out for Spain.

Franklin is not executed; for he now makes new confessions of matters not before known. Monson should have been arraigned upon Thursday last; but the press was so great that the judges nor jury could have no passage to their places; so it is adjourned till Monday next. Some say that Monson made a petition to my lord chief justice, that a great lord might be near at hand at the time of his arraignment, if there should be need to call for him to justify something that he was to deliver for the safeguard of his life. But I dare not say that this was so; but I heard it spoken.

There is a seizure made of the Earl of Somerset's goods, plate, jewels, horses, &c., to his majesty's use; and there is an inventory to be taken of it. The Lady Somerset is not yet delivered; but her time is said to be near at hand. Mrs. Brittaigne is committed to the King's Bench for some speeches she used of Prince Henry's poisoning,¹ which she denied; but two men, upon oath, depose she spoke it.

The king is at Newmarket, where there are at this present twenty earls and barons attending, and such a number of principal gentlemen, as that it is wondered how they can lodge in that poor village. The king hath sent for some of his great horses to Newmarket, and for St. Anthony, the rider. Every morning Sir George Villiers is a-horseback, and taught to ride, whose favour increaseth.

The Lord Effingham is dead, or past recovery.

Sir John Throckmorton to Mr. Trumbull.

December 20, 1615.

I will now tell you what my last letters say out of England, which were written the 9th of present date. I have none, the wind having been contrary ever since for the bringing away from thence. And these be the words of my good friend's letter.

¹ No doubt, this pointed at a greater criminal than had yet fallen under the notice of the judges.

“ On Monday last, Sir Thomas Monson was committed to the Tower for business of a higher nature than the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. The lord chief justice said that God had discovered a practice for which the whole state was bound to give God great thanks, which should be dissolved in due time. It is thought that upon Tuesday next, Sir Thomas Monson will be called again; and then we shall understand what this great business is. Sir Thomas, when he came this first time to his arraignment, desired that my lord treasurer might not be far off from the place; whereof, when my lord treasurer had knowledge given him, which was done by my lord chief justice, he wrote a letter to my lord chief justice, by which he said he could not tell why Sir Thomas Monson desired his presents; for he could neither accuse him, nor would he excuse him; but he hoped that he would acquit himself to be an honest man.

“ Again, when Sir Thomas Monson’s indictment was read unto him at the bar, he said he did put himself upon his country; but therewithal used such protestations and attestations of his innocency as made all the hearers wonderfully amazed. Whereupon, the lord chief justice, observing that the people were somewhat staggered thereat, said, turning himself to Sir Thomas Monson, ‘ It appeareth to be true now, what I have long since heard of you, Sir Thomas, which is, that you are indeed a very atheist; for here you shame my Christianity, the proofs being so plain which are to be produced against you.’

“ The queen’s attorney told him, that if he did not prove him to be as guilty of the death of Sir Thomas Overbury as Weston was, who was hanged already, he would never be seen to speak at any bar more. But my lord chief justice broke off all other matters, saying, as before, ‘ We have greater things against you, Sir Thomas, than this; and therefore I will adjourn the business till another time, and send you to the Tower.’ The which being done, the court broke up for that time.”

*John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.*¹

London, January 4, 1616.

I remembered Mr. Secretary about your money, and he remembered what you had written to him touching that point, but says there can no more be done than hath been to put both the lord treasurer and the king in mind of it. But all is one; for it is *surdo canere* to either; and, as the case stands, it is *commune malum*, which God knows when or how to remove, being past the wit of man. The best is, you have had some small refreshing of £400 of late, which must keep life and soul together till the world mend.

Sir Thomas Edmondes was made comptroller, and had the white staff delivered him the first hour he saw the king, and doth execute the place with courage and authority enough. But they say he doth somewhat too much flourish and fence with his staves, whereof he hath broken two already, not at tilt, but stickling at the plays this Christmas. I wish him all honour and good success, and specially a fair young, rich widow, lately fallen, Sir Francis Anderson's lady, if he have a mind to her; and, which is more, *rebus sic stantibus*, niece to the Lord Villiers, by his sister, Sir John Butler's lady.

The queen removed yesterday from Whitehall to Somerset House, where she hath lain this fortnight, sick of the gout or somewhat else, it being suspected that she dreams and aims at a regency during the king's absence in Scotland.

The Earl of Arundel received the communion on Christmas-day, in the king's chapel, where there were two excellent sermons made that day by the Bishop of Winchester² and the Bishop of Ely;³ and a third that afternoon, in Paul's, by the Bishop of London,⁴ and I heard the Bishop of Rochester⁵ as much commended at his parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate.

Yesterday, there fell a great mischance to the Earl of

¹ He was now ambassador to the States of the United Provinces.

² Dr. Montagu.

³ Dr. Andrews. The discourse is printed among his Sermons, p. 96, 2nd edition.

⁴ Dr. John King.

⁵ Dr. Buckeridge.

Arundel, by the burning of his house, built and left him by the Earl of Northampton at Greenwich, where he likewise lost a great deal of household stuff and rich furniture, the fury of the fire being such, that nothing could be saved. No doubt the papists will ascribe and publish it as a punishment for his dissembling or falling from them.

Dr. Thornborough is made Bishop of Worcester, to make room for Dr. Godwin to be Dean of York, though, I hear, he refuses it, and Dr. Maxie to be Bishop of Bristol,¹ that so your Archbishop of Spalato may, with a coadjutor, be Dean of Windsor. He is well esteemed and respected everywhere, specially at court. On New Year's-day, the king sent him a fair basin and ewer, with a pair of livery pots, worth £170, whereof he is not a little proud.

Dr. Montagu is dean of Hereford, and Dr. Laud of Worcester,² as I take it. One Beaumont,³ an obscure prebend of Windsor, kinsman to my Lord Villiers, was in a fair way to be bishop of Worcester; but the conferring of Carlisle and Bangor upon Snowdon and Bailey, so unworthy men, was generally so distasted, that he could not prevail.

After so long and vehement debating, the old company of Merchant Adventurers is to be set up again, and this day their charter to be restored them, but with what conditions and limitations I have not yet learned.

We have hitherto the warmest winter that I think hath been seen, which proceeds from the settling of the wind continually at south-west, whereby there lie above one hundred and fifty sail, one and other, in the Downs, that are to go southward; and some of our East India ships have lain there for wind for almost ten weeks.

I had almost forgotten that two of our principal heralds, Garter⁴ and York,⁵ are both in the Marshalsea, for a trick of foolery and knavery, in giving one Gregory Brandon, the hangman of London, a fair coat of arms. The one⁶ is in for plotting such a device; the other⁷ for being so

¹ Dr. Felton succeeded to that see.

² Dr. Joseph Hall was made dean of that church.

³ Henry Beaumont, D.D., dean of Peterborough and canon of Windsor. He was installed dean of Windsor in May, 1622, and died in June, 1627.

⁴ Sir William Segar.

⁵ Ralph Brooke.

⁶ Brooke.

⁷ Segar.

grossly overtaken. Garter was lately knighted, and so was St. George;¹ another herald, by the name of Norrey.

Dr. Martin, the king's advocate, is likewise knighted, and Dr. Newman, chancellor of Canterbury.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 18, 1616.

I forgot in my last to give you notice, that there was a meaning to make the Lord Villiers an earl, though I know not of what place; which fell out the next day, to be performed with the usual solemnity, and he bears the name of Buckingham.²

On Twelfth-night was a masque, wherein the new-made earl and the Earl of Montgomery danced with the queen. I have heard no great speech nor commendation of this masque, neither before nor since; but it is appointed again to-morrow, at night, and the Spanish ambassador invited. Yesterday the Middle Templars entertained the Earl of Buckingham with a supper and a masque, whether it be that he was of their society, or that they would pre-occupy his favour.

The king spent all the last week at Theobalds, and the former part of this at Hampton Court, whence he came up on Thursday to receive answer of our aldermen, about the loan of £100,000 upon jewels, as for the like sum of the farmers of the customs, in both which I know there be difficulties; but some way must be found or made, before the journey for Scotland can proceed or set forward. I hear that Bingley is called in question for ill carriage in his place; as also Sir Lionel Cranfield, for some such peccadilloes in managing the king's moneys. But we have yet no example of any that have miscarried in these courses.

The lord treasurer makes account to have done a great piece of service, in bringing the king's revenues to surmount his ordinary expenses more than £1000 a-year. Mr. Chancellor gives out, that the reckoning is mistaken

¹ Sir Henry.

² Sir George Villiers, the new favourite, was created earl of Buckingham.

for a very great sum. There is scant good quarter between them of late, for in other things he hath done the lord chancellor¹ very ill offices.

We look daily for an extraordinary ambassador out of France, the Baron de la Tour, that was with the king when he came first out of Scotland hither. Is is said Sir Thomas Edmondes shall back again, though I think not to reside long; for it hath seldom been seen with us, that a man of his gravity should remain a leiger.

Sir George Moore is upon selling his place of lieutenant of the Tower to one Sir Allen Apsley for £2400; with adding £2600 more, he hoped to compound with the Lord Wotton for the treasurership or comptrollership of the household, wherein he hath Sir Percival Hart his competitor; and though neither of them be thought to be greatly beforehand, yet we see how ambition makes men many times strain themselves beyond their reach.

The Lady Smith, your cousin, with her sister, Bess Lytton,² have lain at Wingfield House ever since before Christmas, where the lady was brought abed of a son the 15th of this present, as likewise the Lady Vere of a daughter, about a fortnight since, but was brought so low, that there was little hope of her recovery; neither can I learn that she is yet secure.

The young Lady Walsingham, Sir Peter Mauwood's daughter, was brought to the same pass, being about the same time delivered of a daughter. Your old friend Doblinson, in the Strand, hath lately married a Lady Evans, widow to the poor knight that was rector at Padua. I hear that Master Pory is returned from Constantinople, and hath been at Whitehall with Secretary Winwood.

The Virginian woman Pocahuntas, with her father counsellor, have been with the king and graciously used, and both she and her assistant well placed at the masque. She is on her return, though sore against her will, if the wind would come about to send them away.

Your Archbishop of Spalato is still at Lambeth, very well used and esteemed. He hath been at our service in Paul's, at the Bishop's of London, at Westminster, at the

¹ Sir Fulk Greville.

² Afterwards married to Thomas Wyndham, Esq.

printing-house, at Sutton's Hospital, at the Exchange once or twice, both above and beneath, and all about where any thing is to be seen.

Here is a rumour, that the Italian preacher, Ascanio, is run away, being, as is said, enticed by one Grimaldi, kinsman of Spinola's, whom he accompanied on his way as far as Dover, and since his wife nor friends have no news of him.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 8, 1616.

I marvel how your letters of the 8th and 14th of the last month could find passage through those south and westerly winds, that have continued so stiff and tempestuous now these three months, whereby we have yet felt no winter, unless perpetual weeping weather, extreme foul ways and great floods, may go under that name; for otherwise we have all the signs and shows of a warm spring, as well in all manner of herbs and sweet flowers, as in beds of roses and blossoms of apricots and peach trees, which have been usually worn any time these three weeks. But, among the many wonders that are spoken of in this kind, the greatest in my judgment is, that my Lord of Canterbury had a nest of young blackbirds in his garden at Lambeth about twelve days since, and another sent him from Croydon about four days after.

His good guest, the archbishop of Spalato, continues with him still; neither do I hear of any settled fortune coming toward him. For Maxie will not remove from Windsor for the bishopric of Bristol, which is lately conferred upon Dr. Felton, with some other help of commendams, and the deanery of York upon Dr. Meriton. The speech runs, that the bishops will provide him a parsonage from among themselves, of £600 per annum, till the king may find out somewhat for him, which I doubt will not be in haste, though otherwise he did use him graciously, and with all respect. He is very forward to have his books to the press; and I heard, that some of them were in hand, but since stayed by the greatest authority, for that

they do not in all points jump with our tenets in matters of jurisdiction. The king's works, all save his poetry, are abroad in one volume, collected and set forth by the bishop of Winchester, with a large preface.

The Baron de la Tour arrived here on Sunday last, having had a hard and dangerous passage, and driven to land at Deal Castle, in the Downs, where there lie at this present above three hundred sail, more than ever were heard of to lie there so long. The ambassador had audience on Tuesday, the queen and prince being both present. He is but meanly accompanied, and lodgeth in a part of the Earl of Salisbury's house. He should have been feasted at court to-morrow, but it is deferred till Sunday next, lest we should seem to be weary of him and the charge too soon. The Lord Hay¹ doth apply him with all offices of courtesy and respect; and he hath reason, for that he was the man that first preferred him to the king's service.

After the audience, the Duke of Buckingham was that afternoon sworn of the council, being the youngest that hath been seen sit at that board. He is become somewhat crazy of late, and takes much physic. His brother Christopher is come to be of the bedchamber; but whether in quality of a gentleman or groom, I cannot yet learn. I cannot but commend that lord's good disposition in doing good to his kindred and friends, though some rhyming companions do not forbear to tax him for it; as one, by way of a prognostication, says—

“ Above in the skies, shall Gemini rise,
And Twins the court shall pester:
George shall up his brother Jack,
And Jack his brother Kester.”²

With more of the like stamp.

But now, for matter of rhymes, Hoskyns the lawyer is in a labyrinth, being brought into question for a rhyme, or libel (as it is termed), made some year and half ago. If he find not the better friends, it is feared he

¹ Afterwards Earl of Carlisle.

² The favourite had two brothers, Sir John Villiers, afterwards Baron Villiers, and Viscount Purbeck; and Christopher, afterwards Baron Villiers, and Earl of Anglesey.

shall be brought into the Star Chamber, and then he is undone. It is said, they have him in a dilemma, either to confess, or deny it upon his oath; and then they have sufficient means to convict him. The best hope they have is, that my lord chamberlain is his friend; but he hath greater adversaries.

The lord chancellor begins fair and softly to resign some of his offices, as the lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire to the Lord Villiers; the stewardship of St. Albans to Mr. Attorney; and now, lastly, the chancellorship of Oxford, which, by his recommendation, is bestowed by free election on the lord chamberlain¹.

Sir Robert Hitcham is become the king's sergeant, and Dr. Newman chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury; and Dr. Martin more lately knighted.

The Lady Lumley died this week. The heir² that you knew so long at Padua and Venice was knighted before his going into Spain with the Lord Roos, whence we hear they are all returning, by the way of France. We hear his lordship visited all the monasteries within Lisbon and without.

The journey into Scotland stands firm yet, though money comes not in very currently. Divers of our aldermen and citizens are sent for, and dealt withal to lend £3000 a-piece; and, if they can speed that way for £100,000, it is well.

Our East India Company are in great bravery, having closed up their books for underwriters the last of January, and find adventurers of £1,400,000 for these four years following, which, in truth, is a very great sum, and a great deal more than was expected; but divers have underwritten for ten, twelve, and fourteen thousand pounds a-piece.

I thank you for the Latin letter and gazettes. I am sorry to hear you have such animosity in those parts about such nice questions. It was ill done to permit matters to go on so long, but perhaps the great politician³ that (for

¹ William, Earl of Pembroke.

² Richard Lumley, who was created Viscount Lumley, of Waterford, in Ireland, in July, 1628.

³ Barnevelt.

what end God knows) gave way to those turbulent courses will, in the end, find that he hath *fait un pas de clerc*. I understood much of that business by a book, or oration of Grotius, that Mr. Secretary gave me before Christmas.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 27, 1616.

We have heard nothing of your passage, nor anything else concerning you, since your departure, but only by a lieutenant, who says he met you near Dort, the 15th of this present, whereas I made account you could not have got from Margate till the 17th at soonest, the wind, till then, being altogether contrary here with us. But so you be well over it, is all one, now the pain is passed, and a little cross weather at sea hath seasoned my lady to be more hardy, and to brook it the better hereafter.

Since you went, we have lost Mr. Henry Fanshaw, who, being at dinner the 9th of this present, at the assizes at Hertford, was suddenly stricken with a dead palsy, that took him away in forty hours. He is much lamented, and so generally well spoken of, as I have not known any man, which is no small comfort to them that loved him, as it was likewise a great happiness to himself that his memory continued till the very end, and his speech did not quite fail him till some three or four hours before his departure. He hath left all in good order, and had made his will above two years ago; but the reversion of his office¹ was in great hazard, by reason of his son² lacking almost two years of twenty-one, was said to be unfit, or, rather incapable, to execute it. But, by Mr. Secretary's good means, it is now settled in Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Arthur Harris, for his use till he come of age, and they have appointed John West for his deputy.

It was my good hap to find Mr. Secretary so forward at my coming to him at Greenwich, that he presently wrote three letters, to the Earl of Arundel, the Lord

¹ Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

² Thomas, afterwards created Viscount Fanshaw.

Chamberlain, and Sir George Villiers, to stay it till his coming, which being within four or five days after he got the king's grant, and very shortly after he had it perfected under the seals, which will be a great stay and settling to the whole state, and relief of those children, whose portions depended principally upon it, though there were some opposition and difficulty by reason of some of the bedchamber, that were loth to lose such a morsel. Yet Mr. Secretary went so frankly and roundly through it, that though he got little or nothing else, or at most but a trifle, yet he hath gotten a general applause and approbation of a good work, and of a sound and sure friend. Indeed, he stands in as good terms as he ever did, and so far outstrips his colleague,¹ both in action and reputation, that it is observed he hath small doings.

I have had, likewise, another near loss, God having taken away my brother George this last week, who, lingering ever since Christmas of a consumption, *placide obdormivit in Domino*. Among other discommodities of age and long life, this is not the least to lose our best friends.

Sir Jerome Bews is likewise gone at last, and left no great matter behind him. And some three or four days since died Sir Ralph Coningsby, upon whom and Sir Henry Fanshaw rested the greatest part of the business of Hertfordshire, which county, in less than three quarters of a year, is left naked of three good patriots and deputy lieutenants, Sir Rowland Lytton and these two last named.

Mrs. Henshaw, John Backhouse's wife's mother, died lately of a palsy, intestate, which proves a plentiful harvest for Sir John Bennet,² her children striving and outvying for the administration of her goods. Once young Backhouse speeds well, having, over and besides the £4000 he had in marriage, gotten now, by composition, £1500 by this windfall.

Peacham, the condemned minister, is dead in the gaol at Taunton, where they say he left behind him a most

¹ Sir Thomas Lake, sworn one of the principal secretaries of state, January 3, 1615-16. The reader will meet with him again very shortly, when his "small doings" were attended, if not with great, assuredly with important results.

² Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

wicked and desperate writing, worse than that he was convicted for.

I know not whether it were before your going that the Lord Abergavenny's three sons were cast away going in a wherry to Gravesend. They were lost by their own negligence and wilfulness, by tying the sail to the boat's side in stormy weather.

Young Sir Thomas Walsingham is lately married to Sir Peter Mauwood's daughter, but the other match with young Hungate goes backward. It runs up and down for great news, though perhaps you heard it before you went, that the Lady of Exeter¹ is with child.

After much canvassing and debating at the council-table, Alderman Cockaine and his new company have carried away the buckles from the Merchant Adventurers, contrary to the opinion of the major part. But the king overruled the case. I pray God it may prove well for him and the realm.

Here be great words and wars 'twixt the lord chancellor and the Lord Coke, about the matter of *præmunire*, which will prove a business of great contestation between the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench, if the king do not interpose himself.

Signor Fabritio² went not till the 18th of this month, being hunted away, and willed to play least in fight after the king's coming to town, who came the 16th, and visited the queen at Greenwich a day or two after. She is said not to be well, but troubled with her usual infirmity. Yet she came hither to the tilting on Monday, the 25th of this present, which was performed but very indifferently, they say, though there were four earls, Arundel, Rutland, Dorset, Montgomery, besides seven others of good sort, and three of the lord treasurer's sons. But the Lord Dingwall and the Lord Hay carried away the bell for good running. Yet the Lord Hay came very lately out of a fit of the gout, which suddenly seized on him without any warning, and before he suspected any such matter. He is providing to go in embassy into France, wherein

¹ Frances, daughter of William Lord Chandos.

² Sir Henry Wotton.

he means to be very gay and gallant. I hear not yet of any special company he carries, but Sir Henry Rich.

Sir Walter Raleigh was freed out of the Tower the last week, and goes up and down seeing sights and places built or bettered since his imprisonment. He prepares for his journey to Guiana, whither he pretends to set forward some time in August, and shall have many adventurers, besides £16,000 he makes show to employ of his own. I hear of divers of good account and experience that offer to go with him, as Sir William St. John, that hath some command in the King's ships, Sir James Lancaster, Sir Edward Horwood, that hath a company in the Low Countries, and others. The world says that our good friend¹ was a principal means of his delivery, as likewise of the Countess of Shrewsbury.

Touching the employment you wot of into Ireland, it was bruited very freshly, after you went, and from three several councillors of my knowledge. He told me I was the first that gave notice of it, more than he had seen it in a postscript from the Lady Arundel to her lord. But he utterly disclaimed it, or that there was ever any such matter, and says they cannot so be rid of him.

As the king came from Newmarket, he had a play at Royston, acted by some of the younger sort of our Cantabrigians. He had heard it commended, and so would needs have it, bearing their charges. Since his coming, he hath knighted Mr. Finet, upon pretence he should have a widow that must needs be a lady.

Sir John Digby arrived the last week. The king hath had long conference with him once or twice. What his coming will produce to hinder or further the Lord of Somerset's business we shall soon see.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 6, 1616.

Your letter from Flushing of the 12th of March came so slowly that I received it not till the 4th of this present. All the alteration we have since I wrote last is, that the

¹ Secretary Winwood.

very same day¹ the Lady of Somerset was committed to the Tower upon so short warning that she had scant leisure to shed a few tears over her little daughter² at the parting. Otherwise, she carried herself very constantly enough, saving that she did passionately deprecate and entreat the lieutenant³ that she might [not] be lodged in Sir Thomas Overbury's lodging; so that he was fain to remove himself out of his own chamber for two or three nights till Sir Walter Raleigh's lodging might be furnished and made fit for her.⁴

It is thought the Lady of Suffolk's⁵ unexpected coming to town the Saturday before did her no good; but rather hastened her commitment. Her arraignment was fully resolved should be the 15th of this present, and her lord's the day following, being the Monday and Tuesday before the term, and the lord chancellor was appointed to be lord high steward for that time. But since it is put off till the Monday after St. George's-day, which, falling in the midst of the term, make some think the matter may be longer delayed. There is great means, they say, made for them, and the queen is an earnest suitor for her, whatsoever the success will be.

The king went hence on Wednesday to Theobalds, and so to Chesterford, a park of the lord treasurer's, where he is to hunt and enter his buckhounds. The Lord Walden went down before, to prepare all things and take order for entertainment.

The day of the king's going, Sir John Digby was sworn vice-chancellor and of the privy council. What composition he hath made with the Lord Stanhope I know not, nor who were the first movers and furtherers of his sudden advancement. Some say the lord chamberlain, others Sir George Villiers, and many lay it upon our good friend, Mr. Secretary. But whatsoever desert or service

¹ March 27.

² Anne, born December 9, 1656, afterwards married to William Earl, and at last Duke of Bedford.

³ Sir George More.

⁴ Raleigh, from the Tower, implored Somerset not to deprive his wife of her property, and now Somerset's wife succeeds the plundered Raleigh in the same prison.

⁵ Catherine, second wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

hath brought him to it, yet it is thought somewhat strange that so young a man,¹ and of so little means and standing, should be preferred before men of longer service, and that have been long candidate, and fed with hopes and promises. But of these things there can be no other reason given, but that all gamesters thrive not alike.

I hear that Sir Oliver St. John is nominated deputy of Ireland, which will be no welcome news there; not that he is not known for a very able and sufficient man, but that they think themselves debased in having a governor of no greater note and nobility. Sir Arthur Chichester, late deputy there, is newly come over, and what shall be said of him we shall see hereafter.

The business of the cautionary towns hath been handled at the council-table, where the Lord Lisle and Sir Horace Vere were called to be present, and all things discussed *computatis computandis*; it was generally resolved to deliver them to the States. Only the lord chamberlain said, there would be more respect had to the king's power than to his profit, and Secretary Lake that he would wish the matter reserved and referred to a parliament. So that now the whole resolution lies in the king's breast, who hath had this matter in consideration and speech with Sir Noel Carew almost four years. And though he should be loth to let them go, yet, as the case stands, knows not how we shall keep them, for money here is none to maintain them, and the soldiers are so far behindhand already that they are ready to starve. The States will furnish them no longer, so that of necessity they must fall to oppress the burghers, the issue whereof is easily foreseen. Besides that, the States would grow jealous, if we now turn back, that there is some deeper design.

Mr. Secretary told me last night, that yesterday one dined with him at Whitehall that came from the Hague, and says you had audience about fifteen days since. I send you here a proper piece of heraldry, being a part of the play or shew our young Cambridge scholars presented to the king at Royston.

¹ He was born in February, 1580.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 20, 1616.

Since my last, I have received yours of the 8th of April, which, as I take it, was our Good Friday, and imparted to Mr. Secretary the satisfaction you take in Colwell, and the encouragement you have in his favour, by his kind recommendation of you to the chief persons there, the fruits whereof you find already.

I have likewise acquainted the Lady Fanshaw with your kind manner of condoling her great loss, which I assure you is to good purpose, being indeed no small comfort to her, to have him so generally lamented and well spoken of. And, as it falls out, Mr. Secretary could not have devised to do himself a greater honour, than to assist and stand so firm for the good of her and her children, wherein, besides the good work itself, he hath purchased a general applause; and I have my part of contentment to have been a piece of the means, and a mediator in the business, which is now fully concluded, and yesterday Sir Christopher Hatton was sworn master of the office, and John West, his deputy, in the court of Exchequer, and so took their places. Her younger daughter, Mary, was married the 9th of this present, to one Mr. Newce, of Hadam, in Hertfordshire, the only child of his parents; and on Monday last I was entrusted, for want of better company, to convey the bride home, and reconduct Mrs. Alice Fanshaw, and Bess Hatton, that went to accompany her. We found all things answerable to promise, and beyond expectation, so that there is no doubt but she is well bestowed, and like to prove a happy match.

The king comes to town this night, from Theobalds, to celebrate St. George's feast, and gets back on Wednesday, towards Newmarket and Thetford.

The Lord of Somerset's and his lady's arraignment should hold the 29th of this present, but I hear it is deferred till the 6th of May, or God knows when. For the world apprehends that these delays are by some such end the rather for that there is a new commission to examine and proceed in this case, wherein the same chief justice¹

¹ Coke.

is admitted. And on Wednesday last, and this day, the lord chancellor, the Duke of Lennox, and the attorney-general,¹ have been at the Tower, to examine the Lord of Somerset, not contenting themselves with what the Lord Coke hath done before, who meddles no more since he delivered his papers and examination to the attorney, to draw the process and inform thereupon.

Sir George Villiers hath been crazy of late, not without suspicion of the smallpox, which, if it had fallen out, *actum erat de amicitia*. But it proves otherwise, and we say there is much casting about how to make him a great man, and that he shall be now made of the garter, but *non credo*. His great friend and favourite, Sir John Grimes, a known courtier, died about a fortnight since, and was solemnly buried in the night at Westminster, with better than 200 torches; the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Fenton, the Lord of Rothsay, and all the grand Scottish men accompanying him, in an apish imitation whereof, as it was suggested, certain rude knaves thereabout buried a dog with great solemnity in Tothill Fields, by night, with good store of links, which was so heavily taken, that divers of them have been whipped by order from the council, though, upon examination, the matter proved not so much in derogation of the Scots, seeing some of them were found to be ringleaders in that foolery.

The business of the cautionary towns goes forward, and hath been debated upon again at the council table, where little was said against it, but only in respect of the king's honour. Whereto much was answered, but specially that where the profit of the war goes, there goes the honour.

I have dealt often and so freely with our good friend, but in truth the case stands so that *lupum auribus tenemus*, neither knowing how to hold nor how to let go. And, for his part, I find him resolved and to make profession to be *validus contra rumorem*.

The Spanish ambassador was yesterday with the king, at Theobalds, where, among other things, he complained of a kind of partiality too visible to pass in silence, that whereas we keep ambassadors at Venice and in the Low

¹ Francis Bacon.

Countries, an agent serves the turn in Spain, and with the archdukes.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 30, 1616.

I had written to you four or five days since, but that I understood that a packet was to be despatched to-day or to-morrow, to give you notice of the resolution taken to part with the cautionary towns, wherein there is now no more dispute, the matter being fully concluded. One of the greatest difficulties in the business was to give contentment to the commanders, though the Lord Lisle held himself well enough paid to have a pension of £1,200 a-year during his life, and Sir Robert Sidney to have a regiment and become a colonel; but Sir Horace Vere is not so well satisfied with his pension of £800 a-year, besides £200 more after the decease of Lady Burgh, and the reversion of the mastership of the ordnance if he outlived the Lord Carew. And whether Sir Edward Conway will be pleased with his £500 annuity is doubtful, so hard a thing is it to please all parties, whereby the old proverb is verified, that there never was so plentiful a feast but some went away hungry. What the success of this re-delivery will be, God knows; but it begins to be better digested already than was at first apprehended, the rather for that the whole sum is to be employed by the consent of the council in providing for matters most necessary, and discharging the most pressing and crying debts.

The king went away the next day after St. George's feast towards Newmarket and Thetford; the Earl of Rutland¹ and Sir George Villiers being that morning elected into the order of the Garter, which seemed at first a strange choice, in regard that the wife² of the former is an open and known recusant, and he is said to have many dangerous people about him; and that the latter is so lately come into the sight of the world, and withal it was doubted that he had not sufficient likelihood to maintain

¹ Francis, who died 17th of December, 1632.

² Frances, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, in Wiltshire, and widow of Sir William Bevill, of Kilhampton, in Cornwall, knight.

the dignity of the place, according to express articles of the order. But to take away that scruple, the king hath bestowed on him the Lord Grey's lands, and means, they say, to mend his grant with much more not far distant, in the present possession of the Earl of Somerset, if he do *cadere causá*, and sink in the business now in hand.

The lord chancellor, and the rest of the commissioners in these causes, go often to the Tower; and yesterday the Lord Coke went with them, which was much noted, for that he hath been neglected of late, and so far eclipsed that it was generally bruited that he was put out of the commission.

Sir Robert Kerr, near about the prince, and Gibbe of the bedchamber, were examined the last week about conveying away and burning of papers and letters, and were restrained to Sir James Fullerton, who is lately married to the Lady Kinlos;¹ but I hear Sir Robert Kerr hath found means to be enlarged, whatsoever becomes of Gibbe. The arrangement is now certainly set down to hold the Wednesday and Thursday after the term, and letters are sent out to summon the Lords.

The Lord Roos is appointed to go extraordinary ambassador into Spain, which honour he and his new father-in-law² take so to heart, that they make profession to perform it very honourably, and to spare no expense. And though they should stretch themselves very far, yet it be thought they will come much short of the Lord Hay, who provides for France, if all things prove answerable to the preparation.

There hath been somewhat ado of late 'twixt the young lord³ and his mother, the Lady Burghley,⁴ about a scandal raised upon our good friend,⁵ who calling it to account, from posting it over one upon another, they are come at last flatly and solemnly to forswear it, which is a hard case, at least for one of them. But they have both so laboured to justify themselves to him, and made such means and mediation of friends to satisfy him, that he is

¹ Magdalen, widow of Edward Bruce, Lord Kinlos, and daughter of Alexander Clark, of Balbeany, in Fife.

² Sir Thomas Lake.

³ Roos.

⁴ Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Drury, of Halstead, in Suffolk, and second wife of William, Lord Burghley, afterwards Earl of Exeter.

⁵ Secretary Winwood.

content to forget it, and they confess he deals nobly with them in pressing it no further.

I hear that Sir Edward Hoby is about to buy Mr. Deckham's reversion of the chancellorship of the Duchy. I confess I should think it strange to see him sit in the place; and yet I have lived long enough, and seen too much, to think any thing strange.

Sir Michael Stanhope's lady died on Sunday, which is no ill turn for her, after her late disgrace of having a daughter, as is said, by Sir Eustace Hart, but the world talks somewhat suspiciously of her end.

Taverner was condemned on Thursday last at the King's Bench, for killing a gentleman, one Bird, in the field, above four or five years since; though there hath been great means made for his life, yet it is thought he shall die for it. The Lady Roxburgh's daughter was christened at Greenwich on Sunday, the queen and Lady of Bedford being godmothers. Her son died not long before, or after your going hence.

Here is much speech of the king's going hence into Scotland the next year. For my part, I shall believe it when I see it, for, many times *multa cadunt inter calicem*, &c.

Dieston, Mr. Secretary's man, is not yet despatched, nor any certainty when he shall, for I perceive they tarry for the return of Burlamachi, to understand how the payments are settled, and then the Lord Lisle and Sir Horace Vere must go over to see the towns rendered.

Sir Edward Hoby hath sent over his base son, Peregrine,¹ to be brought up at Leyden, and commits him to the care of Sir Noel Carew to provide; that is to be every way accommodated.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, May 1, 1616.

The murderers of the rich jeweller of Amsterdam are, in the end, discovered by a second robbery they committed upon one of Count Maurice's secretaries, whom they,

¹ Born in 1602, of Catherine Pinkney.—*Wood's Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i., col. 417.

having made drunk in a *bordell*, took his key out of his pocket, and stole away £600 sterling in gold, breaking open an old window towards a back side to have it believed the thieves entered that way, but leaving the cobwebs, in which they were caught; for that being discovered to be but a fraud, because it was plain no man entered at the window, they were called into question who were known to be last in the geffier's company, and confessing the money upon the torture, with the money was found part of the jewels, and by them the rest discovered. The actors of the murder are two Frenchmen, one of Count Maurice's chamber, the other of his guard; which they confess to have committed in his excellency's lodgings at such time as he was abroad, and so cunningly conveyed themselves presently into other companies, that they could give the best testimony of themselves of any which belonged to the court. They will be executed within these few days; and a third Frenchman is in the reckoning of the money, who, coming in their way, had a share given him to keep silence, but he knew nothing of the murder, and therefore may escape.

Michael, of Delph, hath been with me, and remembers you well by a picture of yours I have of Tintoretto's hand. My old [pictures] both he and others do much approve.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 18, 1616.

I thought I should this day have given you an account of our intended arraignments, but the matter is once more deferred till Thursday and Friday next. The stage in the midst of Westminster Hall, with numbers of scaffolds round about, was finished, the lords assembled, and all things ready against Wednesday, when about Tuesday noon came order to put all off, whereby a great many that tarried of purpose after the term are disappointed, and have since got themselves out of town, with loss of their earnest for places, which at this time were grown to so extraordinary a rate that four or five pieces (as they call

them) was an ordinary price ; and I know a lawyer that had agreed to give ten pounds for himself and his wife for the two days, and fifty pounds were given for a corner that could hardly contain a dozen.

The cause of the stay is not certainly known, but this is certain, that warning being given the lady¹ on Saturday to prepare for her trial against Wednesday, she fell that night to casting and scouring, and so continued the next day very sick, whether it were that the apprehension wrought so violently with her, or that she had taken a dram. Some make this the reason, others say that her lord begins to relent and makes show *to reveal secrets of great importance*. He desired to have the Duke of Lennox sent to him, and the lords commissioners have been with him once or twice since.

The lord treasurer with his lady, and the Lord Knollys, went hence on Monday, to Audley End the Friday before, and there continue, to see the issue. In the mean time, the peers attend here in town.

Taverner was reprieved at the instant almost that he was to be executed, and so was one Anderson, a gentleman, condemned to death for murther, and other foul facts. And the world apprehends they shall live, which they take for a leading case that some may follow.

Yesterday was a woman condemned at the Sessions House, for a lamentable murther of two of her own children. She dwelt at Acton, and was a woman of good fashion, both for means, shape, and behaviour ; but, being a violent recusant, and urged by her husband to conform herself and to have her children otherwise educated, she took this course, to rid them out of the world rather than to have them brought up in our religion.

Dr. Morton is elected Bishop of Chester, to make room for Peter Young's son to succeed in his Deanery of Winchester.

Here is a history from the beginning of Henry the Eighth to Elizabeth, written in Latin, by Dr. Godwin,²

¹ The Countess of Rochester.

² Francis, son of Thomas Goodwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells. He was a profound scholar in ecclesiastical antiquities, which he evinced when he published his "Cata-

Bishop of Llandaff, that was a Christchurch man. I hear not much of it neither *en bien* nor *en mal*. No doubt you have it there, being printed at Francfort.

Schomberg is come from the Palsgrave, but hath not yet seen the king, who came late last night to Greenwich, where the court continues this Whitsuntide.

Sir Henry Saville was here this last week, and looks as well as I saw him these seven years. He was at Mr. Secretary's, who is entered into a great business of being executor, together with young Sir William Cavendish, Sir Charles's son, to the Earl of Shrewsbury,¹ who died the 7th of this present. I conceive it is but in trust, and so shall be little the better for it; but he will find it a great toil to content all parties, and a great deal of envy he will bring upon himself, as it were, *gratis*. But he makes profession to sell the land for the payment of the debts, and that to be his first work, which many are glad to hear of. He did the lady a great piece of service to get her out of the Tower, where, if she had been at this time, it might chance been out of her way fifty or three score thousand pounds, at least. She is said to have almost £20,000 jointure, whereof four or five thousand she hath inheritance to dispose of where she pleases. Other particularities of the will I have not inquired after.

The Lady Fanshaw hath made an end of her main business, having well settled the office for her son, and compounded with the king for his wardship and marriage for £800, which, the long days of payment and all other things considered, is no bad bargain.

Touching the letter you left behind, I heard nothing of it till four or five days after the party² came to town, and then he brake with me and said you had a strange conceit of him; and that if he was such a man as you described him, he were not worthy to be esteemed by any man, much

logue and Lives of English Bishops," in 1601. He was also a good mathematician and an able historian of the times of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, whose lives he wrote in Latin: of which his son Morgan, Archdeacon of Shropshire, brought out an English translation in 1630. He is the author also of several other works, which, though long since forgotten, were then held in considerable estimation. Queen Elizabeth raised him to the see of Llandaff, whence he was promoted by James, in 1617, to that of Hereford. He died in 1633.

¹ Gilbert.

² Secretary Winwood.

less of his friends, of whom he always studied to deserve well. I told him, that it must needs be that passion transported him, for otherwise I knew you so well, and to be of so sound an affection and judgment, that you could not commit such an error. Perhaps you might represent unto him the speeches of other men, or the opinion of some malignant persons, which was a friendly part in you to perform, and proceeded of much care and confidence. He alleged divers passages after the worst construction that could be made, but would not show me the letter, which I did somewhat mannerly crave. In the end, he asked me if you had not made me privy to it; I told him only thus far, that at parting you said you had written somewhat to him, which you wished might be as well taken as it was meant. But one thing I perceived wrought much upon him, that he doubted that you had communicated it to others, and given copies of it, which I did so stiffly withstand, and withal gave him so many reasons and arguments to the contrary; besides, taking it on my conscience (as I assured him I might) that I wiped away that suspicion clean, and would not endure to leave him with the least scruple in that kind. So that, after the first blustering, all was calm and pacified, and I found he was as well content to take that satisfaction, as I to give it. And I do verily and assuredly believe he is come home to himself again, and never thinks more of it. But by this I perceive it is a tickle point for one to deal, by way of advice, with a man well conceited of himself and of his own sufficiency, be it in what manner it will.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 25, 1616.

I now write upon Scarborough warning, because this messenger, Dieston, must not come empty, being a special man about Mr. Secretary, and one well known and trusted at the Hague and thereabout. It is now eight o'clock, and he tells me he must needs be at Greenwich this night by commandment, so that I cannot say much, though I would as well for the lack of time as for that I come tired from

hearing a piece of the Earl of Somerset's arraignment, who I think is but now in the midst of his answer; the proceeding against him having continued ever since ten o'clock in the morning till five, that he began to answer for himself: for he denies all, even his own letters, saying they be counterfeited, and will not be brought to write whereby to show the conformity of the character, but says that it is against law, that he should be put to it. He had pen and ink allowed him to take notes, which is more than ever I knew any to have heretofore. I was there at six o'clock in the morning, and for ten shillings had a reasonable place. But the weather is so hot, and I grew so faint with fasting, that I could hold out no longer, especially when I heard they had sent to provide torches. So that it is verily thought he will hold them till midnight, if the lord chancellor, who is lord high steward for the time, be able to continue it. The Lady Winwood is there, and more ladies and other great personages than ever I think were seen at any trial. All the lords in the paper I sent you were not present, some being dispensed withal for several reasons, as the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Kent,¹ the Lord Montegle,² and one or two more.

His lady was arraigned yesterday, and made shorter work by confessing the indictment, so that all was done, and we at home before noon. She won pity by her sober demeanour, which, in my opinion, was more curious and confident than was fit for a lady in such distress, yet she shed or made show of some tears divers times. She was used with more respect than usual,³ nothing being aggravated against her by any circumstance, nor any invective used, but only touching the main offence of murder, as likewise it was said to-day to be the king's pleasure that no odious or uncivil speeches should be given. The general opinion is that she shall not die, and many good

¹ Charles Grey, tenth baron and seventh earl.

² William Parker, Baron Monteagle, in right of his mother, Elizabeth, heiress of William Stanley, Baron Monteagle. He is known in history as the discoverer of the gunpowder plot.

³ Compare the conduct observed by the law officers of the crown towards Sir Walter Raleigh, of whose innocence of the silly plot attributed to him there can be no question, with that observed towards this profligate woman and her worthless husband, of whose guilt in a most revolting murder it is impossible to entertain a doubt.

words were given to put her in hope of the king's mercy, wherein the lord steward, with the rest of the peers, promised their best mediation. The Earl of Essex was at her arraignment, but somewhat more privately than this day, when she stood full in his face.

For all the haste, I must not forget that it is thought the Lord Lisle shall to-morrow be made knight of the garter, a chapter of the order being appointed for that purpose, to grace him the better now he is going to render Flushing.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Edward Bolton to Mr. William Camden.

May 28, 1616.

Since your *Annales* saw the light, it hath not been my good hap to see you, which I have much wished, that I might have used frank speeches. But this I hold firm, that it is a monument which hath in it a living genius, and the honestest piece of that kind which our country hath had for these very many years; and, to say all in brief, it hath the true character of the father, whose friendship I place in the corner of my best affections. Sorrow that your most esteemed friend, Sir Robert Cotton, hath been so unfortunate, as that thereby the common treasures of our antiquities, and authentic monuments, are barred from wonted freedom of access, so that here the fortune of our nation's history seems to have set the period of itself. Fare you well.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 8, 1616.

When I wrote last, I left the Earl of Somerset pleading for his life, but that he said for himself was so little, that he was found guilty by all his peers, which did so little appal him that, when he was asked what he could say why sentence should not be pronounced, he stood still upon his innocence, and could hardly be brought to refer himself to the king's mercy. Upon which terms he stands still, and,

having leave to write to the king, hath only required that his judgment of hanging should be changed to heading, and that his daughter might have such of his lands as the king doth not resume and reserve in his own hands.

The Lady Knollys, and some other friends, have had access to the lady divers times since her conviction, and carried her young daughter to her twice or thrice. But I hear not of any that comes at him. He hath been much urged and fair offered to confess the offence, both before his arraignment and since, but he stands firm in denial, though by all circumstances, and most pregnant, yea, almost infallible probabilities, he be more faulty and foul than any of the company, which makes the king marvel, that all the rest that have gone before having so freely confessed the matter after their condemnation, he only should continue so confident. Whether this or any other reason be the cause of stay of execution I know not, but they live yet, and, for aught I can learn, *so are like to do many a day*.

Sir Thomas Monson's¹ arraignment, which should have been yesterday, was then put off again till the Tuesday after the term, which procrastination from time to time makes the world think we shall hear no more of this business, the rather for that the Lord Coke of late is fallen (I know not how) into disfavour, so far forth that the king hath been very bitter to him both in private and public; as, upon Thursday last, when all the judges were called before the king, at Whitehall, to give a reason of their proceeding in the exchequer chamber to argue a case of commendam contrary to his commandment by express message, and sending a letter, subscribed by them all, not so respectfully and reverently written as might become them. They all stood upon the very words and terms of law and statutes, and upon the strictness of their oath. But the heaviest burthen lighted on him, wherein he carried himself so well and confidently, that the matter goes

¹ He was created a baronet the 29th of June, 1611, and was master of the armoury and master falconer to King James I. He had been brought to the bar at Guildhall, December 4, 1615, but, his indictment being read, he was carried back to the Tower. He wrote a book, addressed to his grandson, entitled, "An Essay on Affliction," and died in May, 1641.

on, and they argue it again this day, contrary to the expectation and hope of all the bishops. But the worst is, that the lord chancellor, and the attorney, prosecute him implacably, and have won so much ground upon him, that there is a commission granted to the lord archbishop, the Lord Knollys, Sir Thomas Lake, and Sir Fulk Greville, to call him before them, and examine him upon articles and points touching the *præmunire*. And, withal, the whole course of his life is like to be ript up and looked into, which, if it be severely followed, many men fear it may be his utter overthrow. But he holds up his head, and gives no way, which makes his friends think he will pass over this storm and tempest well enough. Our good friend¹ stands only firm to him in what he may, which many marvel at, and stick not to say he is corrupted, which I think is as far from the one as from the other. But, howsoever, I could wish he should not presume so much on the strength of his shoulders, as to think he alone were able to bear up the ruins of a building that is falling; and, to say truth, in many such cases, I observe he hath more courage than needs, not weighing his own strength, nor that it is *sana d'altri humeri*, for I perceive he hath little *appoggio* to the main pillar that now stands upright.

Sir Owen Oglethorpe died on Saturday at the Earl of Exeter's, leaving little or nothing, they say, behind him, scant so much as a good name. He was buried the next night *in tenebris*, and so was Sir Thomas Parry, that died a day or two before him.² Sir John Deckham, newly knighted, succeeds in the chancellorship of the duchy, whereof he had the grant and patent before, but all the council stood against him, alleging the invalidity of such patents and reversions of places of judicature, as being directly against law, besides the meanness of the man, and that he had been detected of divers frauds and foul dealings, specially in the pardon propounded the last year for the Earl of Somerset. These exceptions suspended his admittance for five or six days, but I always said *quid defertur non aufertur*, when I understood what sure cards

¹ Secretary Winwood.

² 31st May.

he had for him, and that Sir George Villiers and the prince betted on his side.

Sir Francis Bacon is now in election to be sworn of the council on Sunday last, and missed it narrowly, by the opposition almost of the whole table, not so much in show against his person as his place of attorney, as being incompatible for many reasons, whereof, among others, this was not the least, that it was unseemly that he should plead before his fellow councillors uncovered. But, if that be all, he hath precedents before, and, for more surety, the king is so well affected to him, and the lord chancellor, as well in spite to the Lord Coke as favour to him, so pliable, that it is thought he will part with the great seal on good composition, whereby he may take his ease, and the other become lord keeper; whilst, in the mean time, the king shall not want the lord chancellor's service, if he be preferred to the president of the council.

The Countess of Salisbury hath brought a son, whereto the king is invited, some time the next week, to be godfather.

The king dined this day in town, at Alderman Cockaine's, invited thither by the company of the new merchants, where, I hear, they mean to present him with a basin of gold of £1000 value, and the prince with half so much.

Presently after your going hence, I inquired whether Sir Henry Wotton had signed the letter for Gregorio, and found he had done his part. But nothing comes of it, and yet I furthered it then what I might, and divers times since, I assure you, as occasion offered, or any mention was made of him; but it is *surdo canere*, so that not long since I told him the poor man meant to come over, and solicit for himself. Yet, in these bare times, I would not wish him to adventure it without better assurance than I can give him, for I see no man intends anything in public that doth not some way concern himself.

Yesterday, I cast out a word of your going to the Spa, and what necessity there is of it, but he would not acknowledge that he had heard anything of it, or that you had written to him about it.

Phil. Lytton goes idling up and down, and knows not what to do with himself. His brother as lazily hunts after means to place him about the lord chamberlain, which, if it fail, he makes reckoning to go with the Lord Roos into Spain. In conclusion, I have no opinion of his industry, or that he cares to employ himself *virtuosamente*.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 22, 1616.

As I wrote in my last, the king dined that day at Alderman Cockaines, where he was presented with a basin of gold, and as many pieces in it, as together made up the sum of £1000; the prince after the same manner with £500. So that the whole charge of that feast stood the new company in more than £3100, the thanks remaining wholly with the alderman, who, at parting, was knighted with the city sword.

The next day, Sir Francis Bacon was sworn of the council, and in election, by every man's account, to be presently lord keeper. But that resolution is since reasonably cooled, and it is thought he must tarry the time till he may be lord chancellor; for, as a lady told the king, it is to be doubted he will ever be a good keeper. And withal, now it comes to the upshot, the lord chancellor makes some difficulty *dispagliarsi*, or to put off anything till he go to bed. So that now there is casting about to remove the master of the rolls, and put him in his old remitter of chancellor of the Exchequer, and so make room for the attorney in his place, if Sir Julius Cæsar can be won to it by fair means or foul, and Sir Fulk Greville be put off with a barony, the mint of new dignities being now to be set to work, and much hammering, they say, for the lord chancellor to be Earl of Cambridge, Flint, or Buckingham; the Lord Lisle to be Earl of Warwick; Sir George Villiers to be Viscount Villiers, and Earl of Leicester; Sir Tufton, Sir John Roper, Sir William Pipe, and Sir William Cope, to be barons. But these last are rather *potentiâ* than *actu*. Sir Thynne and Sir John Holles being in best possibility, who are set

down at £10,000 a-piece; and, if all fall out right, the latter is to come to our good friend's share, who had rather have met with somebody else, and set me on work to win the dry-handed knight¹ (you know whom I mean) who, though he be ambitious enough, yet covetousness is the more prominent.

The installing of the new Knights of the Garter is to be at Windsor, the 7th of the next month, when it was once appointed, likewise, that the prince should have been created Prince of Wales. But that is since altered, and put off till after Michaelmas.

The progress is to begin the 19th of the next month, and goes no further than Rusford, a place of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in Nottinghamshire, and so comes back by Grafton and Woodstock. The Lord Gerrard² hath agreed with the Lord Eure³ for the presidentship of Wales, whereof the Lord Chandos made full account.

Sir Robert Cotton was set at liberty some ten or twelve days since,⁴ and so was Whittaker and Coppinger; and I think Sir Thomas and Sir William Monson⁵ shall not tarry long after. So that you may see there is the end of those matters, and no more to be looked for, when this day sevensnight the king was in person at Hatfield to christen the Earl of Salisbury's son, and kissed the old countess⁶ twice or thrice, who kept a table alone, save that the Lady Villiers Compton⁷ only was admitted, and all the entertainments was chiefly intended and directed to her and her children and followers. The Lady Walden was godmother, and the lord treasurer the other godfather, with the king, with whom he is grown as great and as far in grace as ever he was; which sudden mutations, without any intermedium, makes the Spanish ambassador cry out, "*Voto a Dios que la Corte d'Inglaterra es como un libro de cavalleros andantes.*"

The Lord Coke hath had much ado to bear off the

¹ Probably Sir Edward Norris.

² Sir Thomas, created Baron Gerard, July 21, 1603. He died in 1618.

³ Ralph, third baron.

⁴ June 10. *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi*, p. 19.

⁵ Younger brother of Sir Thomas. He was author of the Tracts on Naval Affairs, printed in 1703. He died in February, 1642.

⁶ Of Suffolk.

⁷ Mother of Sir George Villiers.

storm ; and, whether he be yet well cleared of it, is a question, though the general voice goes, that on Wednesday night he made his peace with the king, who had him *coram*, and in long confession. But the next day, the king coming to the Altar Chamber, and passing him over in silence, makes the world judge the best of his case. The truth is, that his lady hath stood him in great stead, both in soliciting at the council table, wherein she hath done herself a great deal of honour, but specially in refusing to sever her state or course from his, as she was moved to do, but resolving and publishing that she would run the same fortune with him. Our good friend stood to him as long as there was any hope ; but, when the king was so incensed, that there was no more good to be done, he was fain to retire, and leave him to himself, to sink or swim. This is thought not to be the least motive of his safety, that it was told the king that he could not do him a greater honour than to take him down now ; for, whereas he was nothing well beloved before, if he should suffer in this cause, he would be accounted the martyr of the commonwealth.

I cannot yet learn, nor apprehend the reason of the king's coming to the Star Chamber ; for it is diversely reported, and so is his speech there, which being long and of many matters, is so mangled in the rehearsal of them that heard it, that I can make no coherence, nor whereto it principally tended ; and it makes me the less curious to inquire after it, because I presume we shall shortly have it in print.

Young Bennet and young Sams were both knighted together the last week, at Theobalds. One Ramsey, a brother of the Lord Haddington's, was killed by mischance, on Monday night, as he was swaggering with the Watch in Gracechurch Street. But they say a dung-farmer gave him his death's wound.

The Bishop of Winchester¹ came sick from Greenwich on Sunday last, and on Monday night² died, in Sir Francis Goodwin's house, at Westminster. His bishopric was bestowed, or at least promised, the next day, to the

¹ Dr. Bilson.

² June 18.

Bishop of Bath and Wells; but who shall succeed in his place is not soon nor easily resolved.

Sir Thomas Dale is arrived from Virginia, and brought with him some ten or twelve old and young of that country—among whom is Pocahuntas, daughter of Powatan, a king, or cacique, of that country—married to one Rolfe, an Englishman. I hear not of any other riches, or matter of worth, but only some quantity of sassafras, tobacco, pitch, tar, and clapboard, things of no great value, unless there were plenty, and nearer hand. All I can hear of it is, that the country is good to live in, if it were stored with people, and might in time become commodious. But there is no present profit to be expected. But you may understand more by himself when he comes into those parts, which he pretends to do within a month or little more.

Yesterday was sevensnight, which was the last time I saw Mr. Secretary, I moved him again for your going to the Spa. He answered as before, that he had heard nothing of it from yourself. I assured him you had written about it, howsoever the letter was miscarried or mislaid. He said he would inquire of More, and if he found any such thing, he would move the king for leave 'twixt that and Sunday night. What he hath done, I know not, for I love not to haunt him at court without extraordinary occasion.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 6, 1616.

I went on Monday to Ditton with Mr. Secretary, and we came back on Wednesday. He would needs have left me there, but I had no mind to tarry, though he were to return the next day, having invited the Earl of Montgomery, the Countess of Bedford, and I know not how many states more, which were no company for me, and withal I was to prepare for Ware Park, whither I am going after two or three days.

The king is now at Windsor, where the instalment of the new Knights of the Garter is to be to-morrow upon the king's charge; and this afternoon there is a chapter to

be held about the Earl of Somerset's arms or hatchments, as they call them, whether they are to be taken away or left as they are. Once he wears his garter still and his George, by what privilege I know not; but sure he finds very great favour, and hath already the liberty of the Tower, with the lieutenant's company; and they say his lady's pardon is drawn or drawing, and will be signed before the progress.

The Lord Hay is upon parting, having lingered thus long in hope to be made of the Garter, the success whereof cannot be held now in suspense beyond this day. He goes with great pomp, but they say is like to be shrewdly disappointed, for, having made twenty special suits of apparel for so many days abode, besides his travelling robes, news is lately come that the French have newly changed or altered their fashion, whereby he must needs be out of countenance, if he be not set out after the last edition. But the Lady Haddington hath bestowed a favour upon him that will not easily fall to the ground; for she says the honour and beauty of his embassy consists in three mignards, three dancers, and three fools or buffoons. The mignards are himself, Sir Harry Rich, and Sir George Goring. The dancers, Sir Gilbert Hawton, Auchmouty, and Abercromby. The fools or buffoons are Sir Thomas Jermyn, Sir Ralph Sheldon, and Sir Thomas Badger.

The king dined last week at Wimbledon, where the Earl of Exeter made great entertainment. The Lady Hatton¹ was there, and well graced, for the king kissed her twice; but it seems it was but a lightning; for, on Sunday last, the Lord Coke, by the king's express order, delivered by Secretary Winwood, was sequestered from the council table, from riding his circuit, which is supplied by Sir Randolph Crew, and willed to review and correct his reports, as many ways faulty and full of novelties in point of law. This was the sum of the censure for his corrupt dealing with Sir Robert Rich and Sir Christopher Hatton, in the extent of their lands and instalment of the debt due to the king, and for words spoken, touching the præmunire,

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Earl of Exeter, first married to Sir William Hatton and then to Sir Edward Coke.

the last day of Easter term, and for his insolent behaviour when he and the judges were before the king at Whitehall. Some that wish him well, fear the matter will not end here, for he is wilful and will take no counsel; but, seeking to make good his first errors, which, in truth, were foul, runs into worse, and entangles himself every day more and more, and gives his enemies such advantage to work upon the king's indignation towards him, that he is in great danger. The world discourses how he should run so far into the king's displeasure, and will not take these alleged causes for sound payment; but stick not to say that he was too busy in the late business, and dived further into secrets than there was need, and so perhaps might see, *nudam sine veste Dianam*. Howsoever it be, he was not well advised, that he doth not *cedere temporibus*, and carry himself more dutifully and submissively to his majesty in his actions, though his words be now humble enough. His lady hath likewise carried herself very indiscreetly of late towards the queen, whereby she hath lost her favour, and is forbidden the court, as also the king's. The story were too long to tell, but it was about braving and uncivil words to the Lady Compton,¹ Sir George Villiers's mother, and vouching the mother.

Dr. Martin is to be consecrated Bishop of Chester to-morrow at Lambeth, and I hear your cousin, Dr. Carleton, is to succeed the Bishop of Carlisle,² lately deceased. Dr. Lake is to be Bishop of Bath and Wells, and resigns his mastership of St. Cross to old Sir Peter Young, and his Deanery of Worcester to Dr. Joshua³ Hall. Dr. Goodwin⁴ hath gotten somewhat, but I rather think it is to be some parsonage than any matter of name or show.

On Midsummer-day, Sir Robert Naunton was sworn master of the Requests in ordinary; and the same time, Secretary Lake's eldest son was made clerk of the council, a poor preferment methinks for a man of his fortune.

Here is a rich ship called the New Year's Gift, lately

¹ Mary Beaumont; married first to Sir George Villiers, Bart., and then to Sir Thomas Compton, Knight, second son of Henry Lord Compton.

² Dr. Henry Robinson. He was succeeded by Dr. Robert Snowdon.

³ Joseph.

⁴ Dr. William Goodwin, Dean of Christchurch.

arrived from the East Indies, valued at better than £140,000.

There was a seminary priest hanged at Tyburn on Monday that was banished before, and, being taken again, offered to break prison. That morning early, there was a joiner's wife burnt in Smithfield for killing her husband. If the case were no otherwise than I can learn it, she had *summum jus*; for her husband having brawled and beaten her, she took up a chisel, or some such other instrument, and flung at him, which cut him into the belly, whereof he died. Another desperate woman, coming from her execution, cut her child's throat, alleging no other reason for it, but that she doubted she should not have means to keep it. The same day likewise, another woman poisoned her husband, about Aldgate. And divers such like foul facts are committed daily, which are ill signs of a very depraved age, and that judgments hang over us.

Sir Thomas Puckering¹ was married, on Tuesday last, to Sir John Morley's daughter, with £500 portion.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 20, 1616.

I have made longer stay in town than I meant by reason the Lady Winwood hath been here these eight or ten days, and this day sevensnight, she and the Lady Vere, together with Sir Robert Naunton, the new master of the Requests, were gossips to Mr. Parker's young daughter. The Lady Lake, and the Lady of Exeter, have both brought daughters, and Sir Edward Montagu hath a young son, which sets our recorder's² nose somewhat awry.

The widow Lady Wroth hath lost her little son, whereby the inheritance is fallen to John Wroth, eldest uncle of the heir deceased. The smallpox hath lately taken away the Lady Turville,³ sister to the Countess of Exeter.

The new knights of the Garter, the Earl of Rutland,

¹ Only surviving son of the lord keeper, Sir John Puckering.

² Sir Henry Montagu, afterwards Earl of Manchester.

³ Daughter of Giles, Lord Chandos, and wife to Sir Thomas Turville, cup-bearer to Queen Anne, wife to King James I.

Sir George Villiers, and the Lord Lisle, were installed at Windsor the 7th of this present, and there was a chapter held about taking down or continuing the Earl of Somerset's hatchments or arms, but, after a long dispute, by warrant under the king's own hand, they were removed higher, as the manner is where new come in. The Lord Hay, the week and very day before his departure, made many *allers* and *venires*, 'twixt the king and him,¹ which was more noted for that he was the first that openly fell from him, and now, belike finding the world coming about, applies himself to it; for he is known to be a cunning observer. The success of these errands is already come thus far, that yesterday he had the liberty of the Tower granted to him, and Henrickson and his wife had the fortune to see him with his garter and George about his neck, walking and talking with the Earl of Northumberland, and he and his lady saluting at the window. It is much spoken of how foreign princes of that order, to let our own pass, can digest to be coupled in society with a man lawfully and publicly convicted of so foul a fact. Or how a man civilly dead, and corrupt in blood, and so no gentleman, should continue a knight of the Garter. But this age affords things as strange and incompatible.

The lady's pardon was signed the other week. This day sevensnight I saw it, and had it in my hand, before it went to the seal. The special reasons and inducements for it were four: the great and long service of her father, family, and friends; her own penitence and voluntary confession, both before her arraignment and at the bar; the promise of the lord steward and peers to intercede for her; and lastly, that she was not principal but accessory before the fact, and drawn to it by the instigation of base persons.² But it seems the common people take not this for good payment; for on Saturday last the queen, with the Countess of Derby, the Lady Ruthin, and the Lord

¹ Earl of Somerset.

² The "base persons" were her instruments, not her instigators, and had no interest in the murder, to which she was led entirely by revenge. James's "special reasons and inducements" for pardoning so vile a creature were very different from those alleged; and they did not escape some of his more observant subjects.

Carew, coming privately in coach to see somewhat here in town, there grew a whispering, that it was the Lady Somerset and her mother; whereupon people flocked together and followed the coach in great numbers, railing, and reviling, and abusing the footmen, and putting them all in fear. Neither would they be otherwise persuaded till they saw them enter into Whitehall, though the countess discovered herself and talked apace; and the Lord Carew would have gone out of the coach to satisfy them, but that the queen would not suffer him, lest he could not have got in again.

The king came hither from the instalment, the 9th of this month, and within an hour after his arrival, Sir John Holles was created Baron of Haughton, Sir John Roper, Baron of Tenem,¹ or Ten M's, as Ned Wymarke terms it, being the sum they were rated at. This money was presently delivered to the Lord Hay, for that he could not move till this weight set his wheels agoing. He went hence this 12th of this present, and, as we hear, landed at Dieppe the 14th. Our good friend was promised, and made full account to have had Sir John Holles for his prize; but the present necessity would not permit it. Yet *quod defertur non aufertur*. For it was my chance to be with him at Whitehall that evening, when Eversham came to him from the lord treasurer to assure him that he should have £5000 the next day, and for the other five he engaged his honour, upon the making of the next baron, whomsoever. The first payment is since come in, and there is no doubt of the latter now this door is open.

On Sunday, the king gave order at Theobald's, that the Earl of Arundel should be sworn a councillor, which was done upon Thursday, at Whitehall. The queen hath long laboured the same honour for the Lord Carew; so that going to Theobalds on Monday, to take her leave of the king, that is now gone on his progress, she brought yesterday a warrant to swear him this day or to-morrow. It was objected, as an incongruity, that he should be preferred to that place before her lord chamberlain. But that

¹ Tenham.

is salved with a distinction that he is not made as her vice-chamberlain, but as master of the ordnance.

Sir Edward Hoby takes the good usage you gave his son very kindly, and talks much of it.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 24, 1616.

I came to town the 20th of this month, being bound by promise to make a journey to Ditton about this time. And I keep touch the rather for that I make full account to meet him¹ there at his first return from the progress.

I will not fail to perform all good offices for Mr. Matthew's² return; and the more because you recommend it. But for the other business, concerning yourself, I know not what to say, but that I will do as I shall find fit occasion, and sound the haven before I make offer to enter. For I know he did not only aim at it,³ but moved the king for himself while the old man was yet alive, though he knew the reversion was granted to the party now in possession; and I am deceived, if the benefit of making a baron was not given him at that time to content him, and sweeten the sour of that refusal. I doubt, likewise, of another impediment by Sir Thomas Edmondes, who hath been generally, as it were, nominated to that place; and no question but he and his friends lie in wait for all such occasions; and, in regard of his long services, were like to be first served, if matters went here by time or level. But, howsoever it fall out, you shall do well to continue and follow the fisher's rule, *semper tibi pendeat hamus*.

I received two of your letters from the Spa, while I was at Ware Park, and, at my coming thither, I met with a third, but not with the messenger, who went away that

¹ Secretary Winwood.

² Tobie Matthew.

³ This seems to relate to the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, the reversion of which had been granted to Sir John Dacombe, or Deckham, after the death of Sir Thomas Parry, who died May 31, 1616.

morning towards Woodstock, whither the queen was gone to meet the king ; and there, they say, Sir George Villiers should be created Viscount Beaumont to-morrow. Once the coronet and robes are sent down for the purpose. In the mean time, the Earl of Somerset and his lady have the full liberty of the Tower, and converse freely together both by day and night. And the Earl of Northumberland is much in their company, framing himself altogether to be friendly and sociable.

The Duke of Lennox is newly returned out of Scotland, whither he made a posting journey to reconvey the Marquis Huntley,¹ who being, upon what occasion I know not, excommunicated by the kirk in Scotland, came hither, and, much about the time I wrote to you last, at the consecration, by the Bishop of Chester, was absolved at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the presence of six or seven bishops and many other persons of good account received the sacrament.

We have a new ague, or sickness, that begins to spread itself in many places ; and, during the short time of my absence, hath taken away divers of good note, and upon short warning, as the Lord Dacres, Sir Roger Wilbraham, master of Requests ; Sir Clement Skidmore, late alderman of this town ; Sir Goddard Pemberton, sheriff of Hertfordshire ; one Traps, sheriff of Surrey ; one Havers, a customer better known than esteemed for his wife, a fine minx, that is the queen's woman ; and judge Nicolls, but whether he died *siccá morte*, or had some help, is yet in some suspense. Many other of my good friends have been brought to death's door with it, but are now past the worst, God be thanked ; as Sir Christopher Hatton and his lady, both at once ; Thomas Fanshaw, of the Crown Office, and others. And it is the more strange, for that we have had the fairest and most seasonable weather now this whole twelvemonth that ever I have known, and as plentiful of corn, grass, and all other fruits, saving apples, that hath lightly been seen, with as timely and good a harvest ; insomuch, that all manner of grain, for forty or

¹ George, first marquis. He died June 16, 1636.

fifty miles about London, hath been carried and laid up above a fortnight since. Which made me marvel at the difference of the weather you write of with you,¹ upon so little distance; but that perhaps hilly countries (as I take that to be) may alter the case.

I was twice at Gilston since my going down; the first time I found them busy, and in the midst of their harvest; the second time I found your sister Alice in the midst of her wealth, for her trunk was newly come,² and she was visiting and disposing of all her trinkets; and your picture, methinks, is a very good piece, and the best I have seen of that hand. But it hath received some wrong in the carriage; I mean, the nether parts, which are crumpled and puckered untowardly.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, September 3, 1616.

If you kept on your course from the Spa which you meant and mention in your letter of the 12th of August, I doubt not you are long ere this time safely arrived at the Hague, where you have all your hands and heads full of business, by reason of these new troubles in France, if the alarm come as hot thither as it doth almost daily and hourly to us. Yet it doth not greatly disturb the king's hunting sports, who, since his coming from the progress, keeps much about Windsor, though he have not yet been there, nor will not, they say, till Thursday, that the council are appointed to meet him; and then, on Saturday, he is expected here; on Monday to Havering, and, after some time spent in Waltham Forest, to Theobalds, till when the christening of the Earl of Montgomery's young son is deferred, and will be solemnly performed at Endvill, where the lady lies in.

We hear of little done this progress, more than that your cousin, Sir George Smith, hath made his wife a lady, and the knighting of Sir Thomas Hatton and some others.

The twenty-seventh of the last month, towards the

¹ At Spa.

² From Venice.

evening, Sir George Villiers was, at Woodstock, created Baron of Whaddon. The Lord Compton and the Lord Norris presented him, and the Lord Carew carried his robes; which ceremony was no sooner finished, but he was brought, between the Lord Treasurer and Viscount Lisle, to be created Viscount Villiers, the Lord Norris and Lord Compton carrying his mantle and coronet. The queen and prince were present, and all the company seemed jolly and well a-paid. It is generally thought and spoken that he is not to continue so long, but shall shortly be made Earl of Leicester, and of the council, together with the Bishop of Winchester¹ and Sir John Deckham; as, likewise, that the Lord Coke shall surrender his place to the recorder, Sir Henry Montagu, and be made a baron, which is the more probable, for that there is a bruit that the Earl of Somerset shall have leave to traverse his indictment, a thing seldom or never heard of in the like case.

I heard yesterday that Secretary Winwood hath contracted with your kinsman, Sir William Cope, to make him a lord, and so shall get the other £5000 was promised to him. The remainder of the price of that barony shall serve to other uses.

I am even now, within these two hours, returning to Ware Park, my journey to Ditton being stayed by unwelcome news. For being this day sevensnight on the way, and calling in at Thistleworth, to see the Lady Vere,² I understood that the Lady Winwood, going with all her children into Buckinghamshire, to visit his old mother and other friends, fell suddenly sick, as she was coming back, at Sir Alexander Hampdens, where they say she still continues in extremity, for her diseases are uncommonly desperate. Dr. Ashworth³ was sent to her by the Countess of Bedford, from Woodstock, and Dr. Burges from hence. Mr. Secretary was with her, but how long he stayed, or how he left her, I know not, for we can learn nothing here. Only I fear she is in danger, for that the Lady Vere is gone to her, which she told me she would

¹ Dr. James Montague.

² Wife of Sir Horatio Vere.

³ Henry Ashworth, educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and created doctor of physic, August 13, 1608.—*Wood's Fasti Oxon.*, vol. i., col. 171.

not do, being so big and so far gone with child, and the way long and tedious, if she understood of any likelihood of amendment. God send her well to do, for otherwise it would be a great loss to all her friends, but specially to those poor young children. This accident stayed my progress, which, at first, I meant to make, from Ditton to Swallowfield, to Bookmore, and to Askot. But Sir Michael Dormer and his lady are both here in town, under Sir William Paddy's¹ hands, the one for the palsy, the other for the gout, and a consumption to boot, as she fears, and as it seems by her looks.

Our Greenland ships are come home, and have made a good voyage, having made more oil than they could bring away, and killed one hundred and thirty whales. Here is a ship newly arrived from the Bermudas, or Summer Islands, but I have not the leisure, nor cannot tarry the time, to learn what she brings.

By reason I have not seen Mr. Secretary, I could not do any good offices for Mr. Matthew, but *quod defertur non aufertur*, and he shall be sure of my best endeavours, if his business be not done before.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 12, 1616.

Since I wrote last, the Lady Dacres followed her lord, within less than two months; and Mr. Henry Howard² died suddenly at the council table, without speaking one word, as most say. His wife³ is thought to be with child, being a fresh, young, and rich widow. Sir John Watts, our neighbour at Ware, died likewise upon two days' warning, being as lusty a man of his years as I know any. And by the death of Sir John Scot, the Lady Fanshawe and her four sisters are all widows together.

The Lord Hay is returned out of France; and, by

¹ Doctor of physic, of Leyden, and incorporated in the same degree at Oxford in 1591. He was afterwards physician to King James I., and president of the College of Physicians in London. He died in December, 1634.

² Third son of the Earl of Suffolk.

³ Elizabeth, daughter of William Basset, of Blore, in Staffordshire, Esquire.

reason of a blow on the eye at tennis, hath tarried two or three days at Waltham, but goes this day to Royston.

Sir Thomas Edmondes shall come over hither shortly, and Lord Knollys is in speech to be made a viscount, now at the prince's creation, and so make room for him to be comptroller, there being nothing else loose to confer upon him; and yet, methinks, that is no very convenient place, in respect of his stature.

The prince's creation is appointed to be the fourth of the next month, with much solemnity and tilting, banners, and a masque by the inns of court. There shall be twenty-five knights of the Bath made, but they must be all noblemen or noblemen's sons. The lord chancellor, as is thought, shall be made a viscount, though he aim at an earldom, now that he hath a young grandchild to leave it to. But he that was last made viscount¹ will hardly suffer any to leap over his head.

Your cousin, Sir William Cope, hath been long in speech with Mr. Secretary to be made a baron, but he hath dallied and delayed that, now at last, he hath fully concluded with Sir Philip Stanhope;² for the £5000 he had was but by way of advancement till he could find out a fit man, and must be paid back to the king when he makes his baron. The agreement is, £2000 presently; £4000 at Midsummer, and £4000 at this time twelve-month.

The Lord of Somerset's lands are all, in a manner, given away and bestowed. The prince hath all those in the north; the Lord Villiers had Sherborne,³ but, resigning it, he hath a boon granted that they say, by Sir John Deckham's means, will rise to the value of near £80,000. In the mean time, Sherborne is bestowed upon Sir John Digby, which, besides the goodly house and other commodities, is presently worth £800 a-year, and in reasonable time will be double. I cannot yet learn how or why this fortune is befallen him, but sure it is somewhat extraordinary.

¹ Lord Villiers.

² He was created Lord Stanhope, of Shelford, in Nottinghamshire, 7th of December, 1616, and, 4th of August, 1628, Earl of Chesterfield.

³ In Dorsetshire, which estate had belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Mr. Calvert and Mr. Edmondes, clerks of the council, have each of them £1000, out of the checks in Ireland, for reward of their service. There be three new barons made lately in that country, one Sir Richard Boyle,¹ Sir Garrett Moore, and Sir Edward Brabison. Sir John Denham is called from thence to be made a judge of the common pleas, in place of Justice Nicolls, deceased.

The week before the term, the Lord Coke was called before the lord chancellor and Mr. Attorney, who delivered him the king's pleasure, that he must forbear sitting in Westminster Hall till further commandment; but, in the mean time, he might execute and perform what pertained to his place in his chamber. The next week we shall have the business of the *præmunire* canvassed in the Star Chamber, where, no doubt, he will be glanced at, if not nearly pinched.

Justice Warburton² was in some disfavour for hanging a Scottish falconer of the king's, at Oxford, contrary, they say, to express commandment of the king's that he should be reprieved. It was generally said that he should be displaced, and have a writ of ease, as they call it, but, howsoever it comes to pass, he sits still in the court of common pleas. Justice Winch,³ likewise, and Serjeant Crew, are somewhat discountenanced for hanging certain witches, in their circuit, at Leicester; whereas the king, coming that way, found out the juggling and imposture of the boy that counterfeited to be bewitched.

It seems some ill planet hangs over our judges' heads, here as well as in other places, that so many in so short a time fall in disgrace.

Sir Thomas Monson was brought on Thursday to Westminster Hall, and, putting in bail for four of his friends, was discharged from the Tower, and hath his liberty for a year. Certain coiners were taken in the Temple this vacation, and some of them executed. The lord chan-

¹ Afterwards Earl of Cork.

² Peter Warburton, made one of the justices of the common pleas, 24th of November, 1601.

³ Humphrey Winch, made one of the justices of the common pleas, 7th of November, 1611.

cellor hath resigned the lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire to the Lord Villiers, whom he observes many ways.

The Lord Roos is gone for Spain, very gallant, having six footmen, whose apparelling stood him in £50 a man; eight pages at £80 a-piece; twelve gentlemen, each of whom he gave £100 to provide themselves; some twenty ordinary servants, who were likewise very well appointed; and twelve sumpter cloths, that stood him in better than £1500. All his other provisions were suitable; and he went in a good and fair ship of the king's, called the Dreadnought. He is grown very great with Secretary Winwood, insomuch that the world says he relies more upon him than his father, Lake.¹ At parting, he sent him a very fair present of plate, worth better than £200. It seems he is very desirous to buy friends, for he gave the Earl of Arundel all the statues he brought out of Italy, at one clap; and repositeth such confidence in him, that he left in his hands all the details of his land and other writings of greatest moment.

I saw not Mr. Secretary since the beginning of the progress till yesternight, that he came from Royston. His lady comes to town this day, having wrestled with death, at her last sickness fourteen days together, that nobody could judge whether she should live or die. At her coming this evening, I mean to present your Spa-staves, which I guess to be very fine ones, by that you are pleased to bestow on me. Having him yesternight at leisure, we had speech of many matters, not forgetting Mr. Matthew, but he tells me plainly the king will not hear of it; and yet he both moved it himself, and got the Lord Villiers, for the acquaintance he had abroad with Mr. Matthew, to move it likewise, but with the like success; yet he says, that if he could be brought to take the oath of allegiance, he would not leave urging till he had effected it. He spoke also of answering a letter he had from Mr. Matthew, but whether he will remember it is a question.

I put him in mind likewise of Gregorio. He wisheth the man well, but says he knows not how to do him good, unless he should make it a suit of his own, which he hath

¹ Father-in-law.

no reason to do; being so perpetually importuned by parties for their business in that kind, that the king is many times weary of him, and avoids him when he comes with matter for his own service; and says, that it had been for you and Sir Henry Wotton, when ye were here, to move it, and then he would not have failed to give all the furtherance he could.

I found him in so good humour and so well disposed, that I adventured, as of myself, to put him in remembrance about procuring somewhat for you, not specifying one thing more than another, but running all over all places within compass, and assure you he gave very good ear to all I said; and in conclusion wished you would not be too forward for any thing unseasonably, but tarry some time, and with reasonable patience, and you could not fail of whatsoever was stirring or to be had; or, at the worst, he or his colleague, or some such place, would fall, whereof you could not miss. In truth, I have not found him in so good mood, and so kind a mind toward you, many a day, which I was very glad of; and do verily think you may safely build upon the foundation of your old friendship, howsoever he be sometimes harsh in words and fashion to those he loveth best. But he continues still the same man, and loseth nothing of the good opinion of those that know him.

I had almost forgot, that the Bishop of Ely¹ was sworn of the council on Michaelmas-day, which, however, was done him, to put him in heart upon the distaste he had in missing the Bishopric of Winchester; but, for aught I hear, he is yet as silent as Mr. Wake's nuncio, the new cardinal.

Mr. John Castle to Mr. James Miller.

October 26, 1616.

I suppose you do better know the true frame of my mind, than to think me forgetful of your or my promise in this long silence; the occasion thereof arising principally from my desire to inform you of the determinate resolution that should be taken in the business of my Lord

¹ Dr. Andrews.

Coke, gives a just ground to excuse me, without the assistance of any farther apology. Neither have I anything now more of him than was known in the beginning of the term, which was his restraint from all public place, either in the Bench or council-table, confining him to his chamber for despatch of so much of his office as might not be done without him. There was yesterday great expectation that he should come to the Bench, not for any plea of the crown, but to assist at the formality of the resignation of the Lord Roper's office, who will yield up the same to the Lord Villiers. But it hath been thought fit to change this purpose, and to defer the surrender, as it is said, till the king's coming.

There is no great opinion here of the reintegration of this worthy man into his former honours and brightness. They rather think of his disinvesture of his robe, and after to be questioned in the Star Chamber; and carrying the politics of Justus Lipsius in their pockets, say, that this physic is not *ad deliquium spirituum*, but only to correct *peccantes humores*; and that when the world shall have given him over as lost, the king will make appear the incomparableness of his clemency, in exalting him as high in grace and honour as ever before. This is a speculation of so high a nature, that I dare not put my grossness to judge, whether the humours and distempers of the times, and the greatness of his enemies, will ever suffer (if they can any hinder) his great spirit to come again in authority, which may make them subject to be withal. Only I well remember you of the old tenet of the logic question, that *a privatione ad habitum rarissime fit regressum*.

The more principal business that for the present takes up this place, is the preparation for the investiture of the prince into the principality of Wales and earldom of Chester, which shall be celebrated the 4th of this next with great magnificence. The Inns of Court shall furnish a masque and barriers, and there shall be creations of noblemen to accompany the honour. Who they are that shall have the knighthood of the Bath, the enclosed list shall show you, though I deliver them not under that cer-

tainty as if they will all hold ; for I hear that my lord treasurer hath written to the king, that in this choice of many oldest sons, his majesty's profit may happen to be much prejudiced in time ; for that every man that is once knighted is *ipso facto* made a *major*, and *sui juris*.

The lord chancellor¹ hath lately gratified Mr. Attorney General² with the stewardship of St. Albans, which he hath surrendered up to him, being of the value of £600 per year. Here goes some private muttering, that my Lord Wotton, having brought to pass a suit, which now he hath in hand with the king, will retire from court, and give place to Sir Thomas Edmondes, who hath his leave to come home from his embassy.

What account my Lord Hay hath given to the king of the French confusions is not known. We hear that all the princes, save the Duke de Bouillon, are come in upon the declaration that held them *tanquam innocentes*, and free from the crime of *majestatis læsæ*. But the duke, doubting that the queen, with the Spanish party, have made use of the fox's skin when that of the lion would do no good, is retired to his castle at Sedan, where he stands upon his guard.

The Lord Villiers hath refused the offer of Sherborne,³ in a most noble fashion, praying the king that the building of his fortunes may not be founded upon the ruins of another. In regard to this refusal, I hear there is intended to him a purchase of £32,000 value in fee farm. My Lord Roos is yet at Portsmouth, attending the coming about of his ship, in which he is to embark, which is scarcely yet gone out of this river.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 26, 1616.

We are now at as low an ebb for matters of news as we were this time twelvemonth in our full tides,⁴ he being now become the patient, and, as it were, the subject of

¹ Lord Ellesmere.

² Bacon.

³ The estate of which Sir Walter Raleigh had been so unjustly deprived.

⁴ Relating to the discovery of the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury.

news, that was then the principal agent and *primus motor* in all those businesses; I mean, the Lord Coke, who hath been called twice or thrice this term before the lord chancellor and the king's learned counsel to give a reason of divers things delivered in his Reports. The objections at first were eight and twenty, which either were so weak in themselves or so well answered, that they are now reduced to five, wherein they are not so sufficiently satisfied, but have referred his answers over to the king. It is not the least part of his humiliation to be convented in these points before such judges as Serjeant Crew, Serjeant Montagu, and Serjeant Finch, the attorney¹ and solicitor,² whereof the greater part, excepting the solicitor, are held no great men in law; and withal to find so coarse usage as not to be once offered to sit down, and so unrespective and uncivil carriage from the lord chancellor's men, that not one of them did move a hat or make any other sign of regard towards him. Whereof the queen taking notice, the king hath since sent word that he would have him well used. The attorney is thought to be come about, for that he ever used him with more respect than the rest, as for divers speeches he gives out in his favour, as that a man of his learning and parts is not every day to be found, nor so soon made as marred. His friends conceived good hope this last week, when it was expressed that he should sit in the King's Bench to serve a turn that could not be so well done, which was to take a surrender of the Lord Roper's³ office, and so pass it over to certain in trust for the use of the Lord Villiers. But there was some stop or delay in the matter; so that now their next hope consists in the king's coming to town, when resolution will be taken one way or the other, and they promise themselves the better, for that the king hath said that he doth this *ad correctionem*, not *ad destructionem*. The king comes this day to Theobalds, and is looked for here on Wednesday. His stay will be no longer than the prince's creation, and the pricking of sheriffs.

I remember I wrote to you⁴ that Dr. Carleton was

¹ Francis Bacon.

² Sir Henry Yelverton.

³ Chief clerk for enrolling of pleas in the Court of King's Bench.

⁴ Letter of July 6.

Bishop of Carlisle, and so both himself and all his friends believed and gave out. But I hear one Snowdon,¹ an obscure fellow, is come in at the window and shut him out.

Dr. Bayley had better luck, who being both opposed and articted against by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, yet hath carried the Bishopric of Bangor, and both by the same means of them that be now in favour, as likewise Sir Robert Naunton, who, besides his mastership of Requests, and waiting in ordinary, hath gotten the surveyorship of the Court of Wards from Sir Sidney Montagu,² who had the grant, and had given earnest. But Sir Robert is of kindred to the new favourite, and so inward with his mother, that he is termed her chancellor. Yet it is marvelled that, in his declining age, when neither his eyes nor his ears *satis officium suum faciunt*, he should be so ambitious to come upon the stage, and show his defects.

Sir Henry Guildford hath had a great loss of late, at Taplow, near Maidenhead, to the value, they say, of six or seven thousand pounds, by the burning of his house, with all the moveables of great worth, besides plate, money, and jewels, and, which is worst of all, the greatest part of his evidences. The fire was so serious, that the house is said to be burned down to the ground, though it were of brickwork, and, coming in the night, they had scant leisure or means to save themselves.

Sir William Dormer, the Lord Dormer's eldest son, is lately deceased, but hath left children. I heard yesternight that Sir Henry Rich was gone into the field with Sir Ralph Sheldon. We shall hear to-day if anything be fallen out. His poor lady lives at Kensington, where she was brought to bed, a little before Michaelmas, of another daughter.

I have not seen nor heard of Mr. Carew since his coming into England, more than that Mr. Sherburn told me the other day, that he was to be a squire to one of the Knights of the Bath now at the prince's creation.

¹ He was then prebendary at Southwell. He was third son of Ralph Snowdon, of Mansfield Wood House, in Nottinghamshire. He died in May, 1621.

² Sixth son to Sir Edward Montagu, master of the Requests to James I., and ancestor to the present Earl of Sandwich.

I thank you for the enclosed. His¹ nephew, Albertus, cannot yet find his way out of this time; but he saith he will visit you in his way to Heidelberg, whither he hath been going almost this half year from week to week.

If you can spare your Gazettes, when you have done with them, they should be welcome; for I am disappointed of those I was wont to have, by the means of Ned Blount, from Fishborne and Browne. If you would have them back at any time, they should come readily; otherwise, I would lay them up safe for you by themselves.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 9, 1616.

Your brother, Carleton, was with me on Sunday last, when I received your letter of the 24th of October. He hath been here now a whole week, and thinks every day ten till he can get out of town. The cause of his stay is to attend for his son, who, like a good husband, got himself out of the way, and plays least in sight, whilst our gallants flaunt it out in their greatest bravery at the prince's creation, which was performed on Monday² at Whitehall, with all solemnity within doors, for the sharpness of the weather and the prince's craziness did not permit any public show. I have not the list of the twenty-four³ Knights of the Bath that were made at the time. But it may suffice that they were all of noble houses, and the Lords Maltravers, Percy, and Wriothesley were the ringleaders, and young Seymour, that married Arabella, was the last.

Tom Carew⁴ and Phil. Lytton, as I hear, were squires of high degree for cost and bravery, the one to the Lord Beauchamp, the other to his cousin, Rowland St. John. There is little else to be said touching this troop, but that it was generally observed that the least behaved themselves best. It was meant that the prince, with his band of knights, should, on Saturday, have gone to supper through London to the lord mayor's. But how it was mistaken

¹ Sir Henry Wotton's.

² November 4.

³ Camden, in his *Annales Regis Jacobi*.

⁴ Of the family of Carew, in Gloucestershire. He was gentleman of the privy chamber and sewer in ordinary to King Charles I., and eminent for his poetry.

or shifted, they went not; yet the matter will not so be put off, but is appointed for this night. The Earl of Arundel was made earl marshal for the festival, and his friends hope he may continue on, but all are not of that opinion.

The king came to town on Allhallows-eve, and stood on the gallery stairs at Whitehall to see the prince come along from Richmond, attended by the lord mayor and all the companies of London in their barges, in very good order, and made a goodly show. The queen would not be present at the creation, lest she should renew her grief, by the memory of the last prince, who runs still so much in some men's minds, that, on Tuesday, I heard the Bishop of Ely,¹ preaching at court upon the 3rd verse of the 37th of Isaiah (*venerunt filiae ad partum et non erant vires parientes*), pray solemnly for Prince Henry, without recalling himself.

The king was minded to begone on Wednesday; but the multiplicity of business prolongs his stay till Monday, specially the matter of clothing, and of the new company of merchants, which the king will have go forward, as it were, *invitá Minerva*, and hath sent for and to the old company of Merchant Adventurers, that, *volens nolens*, it must undertake this work of dying and dressing, and must buy up the cloths and enter into the new society. Which course need not be taken, if the thing were feasible, or that any gain were to be had by it. But, as they say, clothing decays apace, and hath already received a great blow by this project. So I pray God that this trying conclusion do not ruin or bring down our merchants.

The Lord Coke hangs still in suspense, and his friends fear he will be totally eclipsed. Yet the queen is said to stand firm for him, and to have been very earnest in his behalf, as likewise the prince; and withal I hear he answers to all objections allowed of by them, that have seen them, with indifferency. But somewhat *manet altú mente repostum*, that cannot easily be removed. Yet there was a flying tale the other day that the Lord Villiers' brother,² about the prince, should marry his daughter, with £900 land

¹ Dr. Andrews.

² Elder brother, John, afterwards Viscount Purbeck.

from him, and £2100 land from his lady, together with the Lord Roper's office, and so there should be a pacification. In the mean time, he is, as it were, in an ague, having a good day and a bad, by fits.

On Thursday, the lord chancellor was created Viscount Brackly, the Lord Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, and Sir Philip Stanhope, Lord Stanhope of Shelford, in the gallery at Whitehall, in the presence of the king, queen, and prince. I doubted Mr. Secretary's baron should have been ranked in so good company, for I should have wished he would have met with a more worthy subject, and where he might better have bestowed his favour.

Sir Robert Naunton was nominated the last week to have gone upon a message to the archduke, to demand justice against him that made that scandalous book, called, "*Corona Regia*," which they find by good proof to be Puteant's,¹ the reader, at Louvain. But Sir Robert, fearing a trick, and that he might be lodged there, hath found such means that he is dispensed withal, and some other shall be thought upon.

It is likely you may have the old Lady Harrington come by you shortly, in her way to Heidelberg, whither she is going to reside, about the Lady Elizabeth. But whether of her own motion or the other's procurement, is the question, she being thought an ambitious woman, and there being doubt that she looks for a day.

The Earl of Salisbury's young son died this day fortnight. The king was his godfather in person, held him at the font all the while he was christening, gave him the reversion of all his father's places and offices, and yet all these favours could not prolong life.

I had almost forgot, that our Inns of Court gentlemen carried themselves but indifferently, at the barriers, the night of the prince's creation, but specially in their compliments, wherein they were not so graceful as was to be wished and expected, but in requital they played the men at the banquet.

¹ Erycius Puteanus, alias Vander Putten, a learned professor who succeeded Lipsius at Louvaine, in the chair of the Belles Lettres. He published several works in Latin, which have since become as dead as the language in which they were written. He died in 1646.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 14, 1616.

There supped divers of your good friends, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Henry Saville, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir ——— Seymour, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Robert Killigrew, with I know not how many ladies and gentlemen of that race and alliance. The absence of the court gives Mr. Secretary leave and leisure to entertain his friends, as Sir Henry Saville was there likewise the night before.

The king went to Theobald's on Monday, and so towards Royston and Newmarket. The queen continues at Somerset House till his return.

The Lord Coke is now quite off the books, and order given to send him a supersedeas from executing his place. The common speech is that four *PPs* have overthrown and put him down, that is, Pride, Prohibitions, Præmunire, and Prerogative. Sir Henry Montagu is generally nominated to the place, by reason that the city is written unto to choose Sir Henry Yelverton for their recorder, which is *terminus definitivus* to his office of solicitor, but yet must be accepted to serve turns. Yet perhaps it may be that, if it come to light that the late recorder hath married his maid, as is bruited, and given her such earnest as cannot be long concealed, it may be his preferment.

On Saturday night, the knights of the Bath were entertained by the lord mayor, at Drapers' Hall, with a supper and play, wherein some of them were so rude and unmannerly, and carried themselves so insolently divers ways, but specially in putting citizens' wives to the squeak, so far forth, that one of the sheriffs broke open a door upon Sir Edward Sackville, which gave such scandal, that they went away without the banquet, though it were ready prepared for them. Neither did they forbear these disorders among themselves, for there were divers piques and quarrels at their several meetings, but specially at the Mitre, in Fleet Street, insomuch that young Parker, son to the Lord Monteagle, and Will Howard, the lord treasurer's youngest son, went into the field, but were there prevented and reconciled.

There was a greater business of that kind betwixt the Earl of Dorset and the Lord Clifford, upon notice whereof the king and council have taken order that they forbear one another, and try out their controversies by wars in Westminster Hall.

The Lady Compton, the Lord Villiers' mother, appears not here this term, which is much noted and thought to be sore against her will. But the reason is said to be certain letters from her son, with advice to forbear, for that intermeddling in matters is not so well taken.

The lord chancellor comes little abroad since his new dignity, being overtaken with a cold, or, as some interpret it, in suspense what would become of the Lord Coke.

Viscount Wallingford¹ is willing to make room for Sir Thomas Edmondes's advancement to be comptroller, having, besides the dignity conferred now upon him, £2000 a-year during life out of the Court of Wards, or the best ward (saving noblemen) that falls every year, at his own choice. So that the king is the only gainer by these bargains, except his lady, whose ambition, they say, it was to have him a viscount, that she might have place of certain ladies, but specially of the Lady Fenton whom she did most aim at.

The Lord Roos went from Portsmouth the 3rd of this present, having had ever since as fair a wind as ever blew, so that it is certainly held, that he is before this time arrived at Lisbon. At his parting, he sent Secretary Winwood a diamond worth £40.

The sheriffs were pricked on Sunday. Those that I remember are Mr. Pawlet, for Somersetshire, Sir Thomas Temple, for Buckingham, Sir Thomas Spencer, for Oxford, and Berwicke, for Kent, Thomas Lucas, for Essex. Mr. Neroce—whose son married Moll Fanshaw—for Hertford, and one Standon, a widower, a near neighbour of Sam Buckhouse, and shall marry his youngest daughter, for Berkshire. It is become a great matter of canvass and suit to avoid the place; and your brother Harrison was in bodily fear that it would light upon him.

¹ William Knollys, treasurer of the household to Queen Elizabeth; created by James, Lord Knollys, and afterwards Viscount Wallingford: subsequently he was raised by Charles I. to the Earldom of Banbury. He died May 25, 1632.

On Tuesday, one Bertram, an aged gentleman, killed Sir John Tyndall, a master of the Chancery, with a pistol, charged with three bullets, in Lincoln's Inn, pretending he had wronged him in the report of a cause, to his utter undoing (as indeed he was not held for *integerrimus*), and afterwards stabbed himself once or twice, but not mortally, and being apprehended and examined, showed no sign of remorse, saying, that howsoever he hath cast away himself, yet he had done the commonwealth good. The cause breeds much discourse, the man being near fourscore years old that did it, and a comely grave man as is to be seen. But the strongness and desperateness of the fact cuts off all commiseration. Mine author, Ned Wymarke, cites Sir William Walter, for saying that the fellow mistook his mark, and should have shot hailshot at the whole court, which indeed grows great, and engrosses all manner of cases, and breeds general complaint, for a decree passed there this term, subscribed by all the king's learned counsel, whereby that court may receive and call in question what judgments soever pass at the common law, whereby the jurisdiction of that court is enlarged out of measure, and so suits may become, as it were, immortal. This success is come of my Lord Coke's and some of the judges oppugning the chancery so weakly and unseasonably that, instead of overthrowing the exorbitant authority, they have more established and confirmed it.

Mr. John Castle to Mr. James Miller.

November 19, 1616.

Sir John Tyndall, one of the masters in Chancery, being come from Westminster, and going up in his chamber at Lincoln's Inn, was shot in the back with two bullets, by one Bertram, an old gentleman of eighty years of age, who, speaking with Tyndall the morning at Westminster, about a certificate, or report, that he had made in Chancery, which he found to be, as he said, unjust, and to the ruin of himself and family, and, receiving a scornful answer, went in that discontented mood to provide himself of a

pistol, attending at Lincoln's Inn gate till he came; and then did that desperate execution upon him, as you have heard. Bertram was arraigned within two days after; but there was a stay from the full proceeding, by an express direction from the king, who would take the examination of the cause and grounds of this desperate fact into his own hands. But, on Sunday last, having heard a sermon in the King's Bench, where he was a prisoner, he sent away his keeper to bring him fire, or some such thing, and found means to hang himself.

A thunderbolt hath fallen on the Lord Coke, which hath overthrown him from the very roots. The indignation of princes, says one, is *instar fulminis, quo turres dejiciuntur, et evelluntur arbores*. Yet they are but the organs of the great judge above; for he it is that holdeth the hearts of kings; raiseth up one, and falleth down another. The *supersedeas* was carried to him the last week by Sir George Coppin, who, at the presenting of it, saw that animosity and supposed greatness of spirit had to fall into a very narrow room; for he received it with dejection and tears.

Yesterday, Sir H. Montagu was sworn, and this morning brought with a gallant and very honourable troop to his seat, consisting of the bravest courtiers, and other noble gentlemen, besides the students of both Temples. The Earl of Huntingdon¹ and Lord Willoughby accompanied him in the head, set forth with all splendour. Having made his speech, he took the surrender of the Lord Roper for his office there, and caused those that are feoffers for the Lord Villiers, to take their oaths.

For anything else, there is nothing worthy the writing, but that the Lady of Somerset is with child; and that the old Lady Harrington hath from the king £700 to depart towards Heidelberg, to wait on the Princess Elizabeth, as the first lady of honour in her chamber.

The resolution for my Lord Wotton's retirement is altered into the promotion to follow my Lord Knollys into the treasurership of the household. Sir Thomas Edmondes

¹ Henry, fifth earl. He died in 1643.

succeeds him in the comptrollership, and the Lord Knollys to content himself with the mastership of the wards and his new title.

The inns of court not having performed their barriers to the taste of some of the capriccios of the court, that would gain the name of wits, by traducing the best things of others, there have been scattered abroad certain verses that have a flash or too of conceit, but so absurdly immoderate and saucy, that I abhor to write them to you.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 23, 1616.

I imparted Mr. Brent's¹ business to Mr. Secretary that evening, who told me that place was disposed of a good while since, to one Onslow, a secretary of the late lord deputy,² wherewith neither himself nor others of the council were greatly satisfied; for, if it had laid in his power, he would have conferred it on his man Blondell, who was every way as fit for the place as any that come into consideration. If you had meant to do any good in that business, the best time had been when you were here yourself, or at least to put in a caveat, that so you might keep it, as it were, a continual claim.

The Lord Coke, after so long suspense, is at last displaced, and Sir Henry Montagu sworn in his place upon Monday, who went the next day, with great pomp, to the hall, accompanied with some earls, lords, and others of great quality, to the number of fifty horse, besides the whole fry of the Middle Temple, and swarms of other lawyers and officers. The lord chancellor, though he were crazy, and had not come at Westminster five or six days before, or since, yet made shift to give him his oath, and withal many admonitions how to carry himself in the place, wherein he glanced not as they say obscurely, but in plain terms, at his predecessor, for many errors and vanities, but specially for his ambitious popularity. The new

¹ Nathaniel, afterwards knighted.

² Of Ireland. Sir Arthur Chichester.

chief justice made a modest answer, that seeing it had pleased his majesty to cast his eye upon him for this place, he would do his best to make good his choice, and would promise thus far for himself, that he would neither be idle, nor corrupt; neither a coward, nor heady.

If Sir Edward Coke could bear this misfortune constantly, it were no great disgrace to him, for he goes away with a general applause and good opinion; and the king himself, when he told his resolution at the council-table to remove him, yet gave him this character, that he thought him no way corrupt, but a good justicer; with so many other good words, as if he meant to hang him with a silver halter. Hitherto, he bears himself well, but specially towards his lady, without any complaint of her demeanour towards him, though her own friends are grieved at it; and her father sent to him to know all the truth, and to show how much he disallowed her courses, she having divided herself from him, and disfurnished his house in Holborn and at Stoke of whatsoever was in them, and carried all the moveables and plate she could come by God knows whither, and retiring herself into obscure places both in town and country. He gave a good answer likewise to the new chief justice, who sending to him to buy his collar of S.S., he said he would not part with it, but leave it to his posterity, that they might one day know they had a chief justice to their ancestor. He is now retired to his daughter Sadler's¹ in Hertfordshire, and from thence, it is thought, into Norfolk. He hath dealt bountifully with his servants; and for such as had places under him, he hath willed them to set down truly what they gained, and he will make it good to them, if they be willing to tarry and continue about him.

The king is nothing pleased with the solicitor for refusing the recordership; and the rather, for that the city, in the interim, took the advantage to choose one Coventry,² no confidant of the court, before any other should be nominated to them, and that two or three days before the place was vacant.

¹ Anne, married to Sir Ralph Sadler, son and heir of Sir Thomas Sadler.

² Thomas, afterwards lord keeper.

On Sunday,¹ poor old Bertram, that killed Sir John Tindall, though he had a keeper, and were narrowly watched, yet found means to hang himself in the King's Bench upon a nail. The king meant to have him respited until his coming, that he might examine the depth and truth of his grievance; but it seems he was threatened, or apprehended torture, and the cutting off his hand, for violence offered to a judge. He was above seventy-five years old, and had a wife that was sister, or half sister, to Sir Robert Chamberlain's father.

The Lord Dormer died this week, little more than a month after his son, and so left his grandchild a young lord, and ward to the king.

Our old merchants have many consultations and disputes among themselves how to content the king, who doth not accept any of their offers, so that they are at their wits' end; for with this new company they will in no wise join, who are now casting about to vent their cloths at Antwerp or at Bruges; and many meetings they have with the Spanish ambassador, who makes them large promises.

Sir Lionel Cranfield² is made master of Requests. Some say he shall be but itinerant, for he is not thought fit to sit in a court of justice; but he is of opinion that he is fit for any thing, and did aim at a higher matter, which was to be under treasurer, and had carried it, if the lord treasurer³ had not firmly opposed; and when other reasons and arguments would not prevail, told the king that he would resolutely resign his staff, and all the honours he had, rather than be matched and yoked with a 'prentice of London.

Sir Thomas Edmondes hath letters sent for his revocation, so that we may expect him here before Christmas. Paul Pindar is likewise to be recalled from Constantinople, and one ——⁴ is to go in his room, which I doubt comes ill to pass for poor Master Pory. The Lady Harrington sets out on Tuesday or Wednesday towards Hei-

¹ November 17.

² Afterwards lord treasurer and Earl of Middlesex.

³ The Earl of Suffolk.

⁴ Probably Eyre, Sir John Eyre being Sir Thomas Roe's predecessor, as ambassador at Constantinople.

delberg, by the way of Flanders and Brabant, here having been much ado to furnish her with £5000, which the king bestows upon her.

Your cousin, Sir Francis Goodwin, hath now got him a license to travel, when in all reason it were more time for him to rest. Sir Edward Cecil shall shortly marry Mrs. Diana Drury, who, since the death of her brother,¹ is become a good marriage, worth £10,000 or £12,000.

I forgot heretofore to write of five men safely arrived from the Bermudas in a boat of hardly two tons, it being thought half a miracle how so small a vessel should brook those seas seven whole weeks, and not be swallowed up in the vast ocean.

Here is a bold rhyme of our young gallants of Inns of Court against their old benchers, and a pretty epigram upon the Lord Coke, and no doubt more will follow; for when men are down, the very drunkards make rhimes and songs upon them.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 7, 1616.

The king's and queen's absence, together with the ending of the terms, hath made this town as barren of news as it is of good company. Most of the council are likewise disposed: the lord treasurer gone to Audley End, as much to avoid the importunate claimants for money as for recreation.

The Lord Coke continues at his daughter Sadler's, and hath been twice within these two months at Newmarket. The first time he had good access, and kissed the king's hand. What success he had this second time I cannot yet learn, for the news is as new as most certain and true. The motive of his first journey was the report of some of his friends to the king, how much he was dismayed and dejected. Whereupon the king answered, that if he came to him, he should find that he owed him no further displeasure, and indeed has given order before to dash certain suits commenced in the Star Chamber against him.

¹ Sir Robert Drury.

And Mr. Attorney committed two of his own men to the Fleet, for presuming to give order for process against him in his name, or as by his direction. His friends are in hope that he shall very shortly be restored to the council-table.

His lady hath somewhat changed her copy, and finding how harshly her former carriage sounded, as well with friends as foes, hath reclaimed herself, and a little mollified the matter, as if she had no such meaning as was conceived, though her trunks by mischance were stayed, and so her course interrupted; but yet she affords him no manner of comfort, either by her counsel or company.

There is a *sourd bruit*, as if the blazing star,¹ at last, were toward an eclipse, and that there is some glimpse or sparkling of a less comet, of the Lord of Montgomery's lighting. There hath been, of late, both big words and looks from him and the Lord Hay towards the present favourite, which is taken for ominous, and, withal, he hath been crazy ever since he went to Newmarket.

The Earl of Montgomery hath lately gotten divers good suits, as £3000 a-year for twenty years (out of what assignment I know not), toward the payment of his debts and the wardship of the young Lord Dormer, which is like to prove a matter of great value. Sir William Borlase and Sir John Dormer are left executors by the Lord Dormer, which is like to be such a business, that, were it not to make good the confidence he hath reposed in them, they would not undertake it for ten times the benefit they shall reap by it; and protest that, if he were alive, they would not do half so much for him, for all the means and intreaty he could make.

Sir John Dormer hath likewise another task, by the death of Sir Michael Dormer's lady, who died, about a fortnight since, of a consumption and dropsy, and I know not how many diseases more, which I persuade myself came upon her by continual physie. Her husband gave her leave to make a will, and I hear she hath bestowed that fair suit of hangings, you remember at Hampton, upon the Lord Norris. So that, what with his business

¹ Lord Viscount Villiers.

now at Askot, the Lord Dormer's will, his own affairs, and his new-old sickly wife, Sir John Dormer hath head and hands full of work.

The speech of the king's journey into Scotland continues still, though it be said to be somewhat deferred, and not to begin so soon as was first intended. We hear they make great preparation there to be in their best equipage; and from hence many things are sent, but, specially, a pair of organs, that cost above £400, besides all manner of furniture for a chapel, which Inigo Jones tells me he hath the charge of, with pictures of the apostles, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and such other religious representations, which how welcome they will be thither God knows. But all the difficulty will be for money to bear the journey, which how to compass all projects must be employed, and every man fears where it will light, being not a little terrified with a precedent of dangerous consequence, of one Robarts,¹ of Cornwall or Devonshire, whose father,² an obscure fellow, dying exceeding rich, they say by long use of interest, there was a privy seal sent to him for £20,000, with intimation that whereas, by law, the king could seize on all gotten by those usurious courses, he was, of his clemency, content to borrow this sum without interest. In conclusion, the man was brought to lend £12,000, to be repaid by £1200 a-year.

The Lady Harrington hath been going these ten days, but now sets out on Monday, *sans faute*, and Sir John Finet accompanies her to Heidelberg. Walgrave, the Palsgrave's agent here, lies at the last cast, having been long sick and languishing, before his marriage with a very young wench, which was not the way to recover. Palavicini lies in hand to be his successor, but the resolution must come from thence.

Little Mrs. Jinkins deceased this week, having buried her husband this time twelvemonth, and her only daughter this last summer. The Lady Cromer was married some ten days since to Sir Edward Hales, a baronet of Kent. He

¹ Richard Roberts, of Truro, in Cornwall, knighted the 11th of November, 1616; made a baronet, 3rd of July, 1621; and Baron of Truro, 26th of January, 1624.

² John Roberts.

dined on the wedding-day at the Cat and Fiddle, an ordinary, and she at her father's. Though methinks this was somewhat a strange marriage, yet we have one more strange, of the old Lady Killegrew, the Frenchwoman, to one Downham,¹ that is going to be a bishop in Ireland.

The Countess of Exeter is with child again, and they say as much of the Lady of Somerset.² Your brother Carleton was in town this month, but made a short return. His errand was for money due for the place he holds, but he went empty away.

Mr. John Castle to Mr. James Miller.

December 12, 1616.

The marriage with the daughter of Spain is so far advanced here, that the speech holdeth correct that Sir John Digby and the Bishop of Ely shall be shortly sent over. Their despatch is said to depend upon the coming back of the Lord Roos, to whom a post is sent in all diligence to command him hither.

The residence for the merchants of the English cloth is hot in treaty with the archduke for accommodation at Antwerp, and likely to go on, unless the States of the United Provinces speedily revoke their edicts against our dyed and dressed cloths, and leave their over bold and liberal speeches of our state and countrymen, whom, since the surrender of the cautionary towns, they use but neglectfully. If they force us to embrace the Spaniard's nearer amity, the effects will not be the best for us, but surely of extreme ill consequence.

There have fallen some round words between the Lord Villiers and Lord Hay, for the introduction of Lord Coke lately to the king at Newmarket. The Lord Hay was his conduct, but the office was excepted at by the other as a matter of some forwardness. The king used my lord with good face and words; assuring him that he had pardoned

¹ Dr. George Downham, educated at Christ's College, Cambridge; advanced to the bishopric of Londonderry, where he died, 17th of April, 1634.

² Arthur Willson, in his "Life of King James I.," p. 83, edit. London, 1603, says, *that she never had but one child, viz., Anne, afterwards Countess of Bedford.*

his errors, and would so remember the merits of his services, as that no envy or calumny should wrong him.¹

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 21, 1616.

Here was much speech of the archbishop [of Spalato] before his arrival, and I was willing to have understood somewhat concerning him, because of the variety of reports, which I could not till some three days since, that Mr. Secretary gave me one of his declarations. He is lodged yet at Lambeth, but my Lord of Canterbury seeks to remove him to the Dean of Westminster,² who is so far engaged in affection with Mrs. Bridges,³ the late Lady Kennedy, that his nearest friends fear it will prove a match.

On Sunday was sevensnight, Dr. Lake and Dr. Bayley were consecrated at Lambeth, the one Bishop of Bath and Wells, the other of Bangor. And now the death of the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Parry, makes a new canvas between the Archbishop of Canterbury, who in right and reason should be first and best heard, and the court bishops and other courtiers, that commonly prevail.

By the death of Dr. Pasfield, one of the principal prebends or masters⁴ of Paul's, as they call them, that place is bestowed on the Bishop of London's eldest son,⁵ a youth of two and twenty years old, who is well provided already with spiritual livings, besides a young wife, worth four or five thousand pounds at least, daughter to Robin Berkley, if you knew him, and brought up with her aunt at Oxford.

Sir John Swinerton is lately dead, not altogether so great and rich a man as he was held and made show of.

¹ So much had the wrong done this eminent lawyer by the arbitrary conduct of the king and his favourite been remarked upon, that James is said, according to a preceding letter, to have felt some compunction, and sent for Coke to assure him of his favour.

² Dr. George Mountaine.

³ Elizabeth, daughter of Giles, Lord Chandos, and widow of Sir John Kennedy, knight.

⁴ Residentiaries.

⁵ Henry, born in January, 1591; educated at Christchurch, Oxford; afterwards Dean of Rochester, and, in 1641, made Bishop of Chichester. He died October 1, 1669.

One Onslow,¹ a young gentleman of good means, marrying the last week a niece of the Lady Weld's, daughter to Sir Samuel Lennard, with whom he had £300, hath left her a maiden widow, for he fell sick the first night, of the small-pox, that took him away in a few days. The Lord Rich,² after much wooing and several attempts, hath at last lighted on the Lady Sampoll,³ a rich widow of Lincolnshire.

Here is much speech of a business like to come into the Star Chamber, about the bastinadoing or beating of Christopher Neville, son to the Lord of Abergavenny, by Sir Humphrey Tufton, for making love, as he pretends, to his wife. By that I have heard, the matter was ill carried on both sides, but it is too long to write.

The Lord Coke was twice with the king at Newmarket, so well and graciously used, that he is as jocund and jovial as ever he was. It is generally said he shall shortly be made a baron; but some interpret this kindness to be but for the compassing of a match for the Lord Villiers's brother with one of his daughters. There is a discourse abroad by way of advice to him.⁴ By that little I saw of it, it is worth the having, and I have wished Mr. Sherburn to get it for you, and told him the means, though I cannot do it myself.

It is generally bruited that the Lord of Somerset shall have his pardon, and all his jewels restored him, together with the allowance of £4000 a-year for his maintenance.

The Lord of Roxburgh is not so well pleased with being made Earl of Roxburgh, as discontented to be put by the place of lord chamberlain, to the prince, which he pretends was promised him, and made some account of. His lady is likewise parting from the queen, being nothing so gracious as heretofore. The Lady of Ruthen, the Lady Walsingham, and Mrs. Southwell, are in election to succeed her, but some think a daughter⁵ of the Lord Mon-

¹ Thomas, eldest son of Sir Edward Onslow, by Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Thomas Shirley, *knt.*

² Robert, created Earl of Warwick, August 1, 1618.

³ Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, *knt.*, lord chief justice of the king's bench, widow of Sir George Paul, of Snartford, in Lincolnshire, *knt.* and *bart.* See Collins's *Peerage of England*, vol. ii., p. 187, 2nd edit., 1741.

⁴ Probably that by Sir Francis Bacon.

⁵ Mary, daughter of Anthony, Viscount Montacute.

tacute's, married to the Lord St. John,¹ is most likely to carry it, the rather for that she is now turning from popery, and procuring a nullity of her marriage, by reason of her husband's impotence, so that she may have back the £10,000 she brought, whereupon they were almost at a point.

The king's journey into Scotland is every day more fresh in speech than other; and Sir Thomas Lake, upon suit, hath gotten a grant to go that voyage, wherein he had no competition, for our good friend is willing enough to forbear it for more reasons than one.

The queen came from Greenwich on Tuesday to Somerset House, and on Thursday removed to Whitehall, where the king is expected this afternoon from Theobalds.

Sir Thomas Edmondes came to town on Thursday, but hath not taken his solemn last leave at Paris, thinking it better to pause awhile, and see what contentment he shall find here, and, withal, to let his entertainment run on till he see cause to leave it. I saluted him yesterday at Mr. Secretary's, whither he came after dinner with the Lord Hay, but he is not yet at leisure to receive visits of his poor friends. His Frenchman, Beaulieu, is come with him. His well-willers look he should have a white staff bestowed upon him to-morrow. God give him joy of the honour when he hath it, for I fear there will be no great profits to be expected, specially now there is a lord steward of the household that engrosses all the commodities.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 3, 1617.

I heard nothing of Master Pory's absence, till I received your letter of the 8th of the last month; but I hear of one or two that are sent on the same errand, after the Lord Roos, both from his father and grandfather. But the speech goes, that he is at Rome in great privacy, with his Holiness, by the recommendation of the Spanish

¹ William, Lord St. John, of Basing, son and heir to William, Marquis of Winchester.

ambassador, with whom, at his departure, he left all his rich moveables that he could not make away on the sudden. There is no news yet of the book,¹ translated at Utrecht; but they that have read it in Dutch, find not so much his malice to you; but that, through your sides, he seeks to wound greater persons.

We have had great speech all this Christmas, of new men to be preferred to divers places, but specially of Sir Robert Naunton to be secretary, which is expected every hour, and is the more likely, because his other offices are either bestowed already, or bespoken, as his mastership of Requests is said to be conferred upon one Sir Freeman, a young knight that lately married a kinswoman of my Lord of Buckingham; and the king himself named Mr. Packer for surveyor of the wards, but Sir Humphrey May, Sir Sidney Montagu, and others, put in for it with might and main; so that the poor man is like to go without it, which comes ill to pass, for it would have been a good retreat for his age, the rather because his sight begins to fail, and his eyes grow dim, and it may be that his diligence and sufficiency in the business he is continually employed in will not let him be spared, for *bonus servus is perpetuus asinus*.

The Lord Wotton, growing weary of waiting at court, had compounded with Sir Henry Cary, for £5000, to resign his treasuryship to Sir Thomas Edmondes, and so he to be comptroller. The king's consent was gotten, but the Duke of Lennox, as lord steward of the household, interposes, as if it were a degradation to him that any such place should be bestowed without his approbation; wherein he is seconded and abetted by some whom the other took for his best friends. So the matter sticks yet; but he is offered the place, without being a councillor, which he will in no wise accept. The world thinks somewhat hardly of my Lord Wotton, that he would not rather prefer his brother Sir Harry to the place; and withal talk somewhat freely, that offices of that nature, and specially councillorships, should pass, as it were, by bargain and sale; and so strange it seems, that Sir Harry

¹ Probably that entitled *The Balance*, in answer to Sir Dudley Carleton's speech.

Cary hath concluded for the mastership of the Jewel House, with young Sir Henry Mildmay, a younger son of Sir Humphrey, and of small means or experience. Yet he is to give him £2000 or £3000, I know not whether, in case the first contract go not on, as it is thought it will, for all the rubs cast in the way. Sir William Tweedale is in possession of the treasurership of the chamber; but upon what conditions the Lord Stanhope hath left it, I have not yet learned.

Thus you see what chopping and changing here is on all sides; but the greatest novelty is, that on New Year's-day, when there was no such matter spoken of or expected, the Earl of Buckingham was created Marquis of Buckingham, a dignity the king had not bestowed since his coming to this crown; but he professed to do it for the affection he bore him, more than ever he did to any man, and for the like affection, faith and modesty, that he had found in him. It was done privately, by patent, and some few noblemen called to be present, that had heard nothing of it till they saw it.

The Muscovy ambassadors shall be feasted at court to-morrow, and on Twelfth-night in the prince's masque. There was a masque of nine ladies in hand, at their own cost, whereof the principal was the Lady Hay, as Queen of the Amazons, accompanied by her sister, the Lady Dorothy;¹ Sir Robert and Sir Henry Rich's ladies; Mrs. Isabella Rich; Mrs. West; the Lord Delawar's daughters; Mrs. Barbara Sidney; Sir Humphrey May's lady, and the Lady Cave, daughter to Sir Herbert Croftes. They had taken great pains in continual practising, and were almost perfect, and all their implements provided, but whatsoever the cause was, neither the queen nor king did like or allow of it, and so all is dashed.

The Lady Hatton, in all this jollity, lies at Waltham this Christmas, with her sister. Some muse what the matter should be, that she is so private, and give it out to be lest the king should seek to reconcile or mediate 'twixt her and her husband.

The Archbishop of Spalato hath gotten the mastership

¹ Sidney.

of the Savoy, though Balconqual were in possession, who, in exchange, is made clerk of the closet, and promised the next that falls.

The Lord Clifton,¹ being censured the last in the Star Chamber, for some foul misdemeanour, to pay £1000, and to imprisonment in the Fleet, behaved himself so foolishly and insolently in traducing the justices of the land, and threatening to kill the lord keeper, that on Tuesday he was called to the council table, and from thence committed to the Tower.

Some two days before Christmas, Sir John Finet married a lame sister of the Lord Wentworth's, with whom he is to have £1500.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 10, 1617.

Since I wrote this day sennight, here have been some alterations which you shall have in their order. First, that night was the Lord Marquis's great feast, where the king and prince were present, with lords and ladies *sans nombre*. You may guess at the rest of the cheer by this scantling, that there were said to be seventeen dozen of pheasants, and twelve partridges, in a dish, throughout which, methinks, was rather spoil than largess; yet, for all the plenty of presents, the supper cost £600. Sir Thomas Edmondes undertook the providing and managing of all, so that it was much after the French. The king was exceedingly pleased, and could not be satisfied with commanding the meat and the master; and yet some stick not to say, that young Sir Henry Mildmay, a son of George Brookes, that was executed at Winchester, and a son of Sir William Monson's, begin to come into consideration.

The next day, the two Muscovy ambassadors dined with the king in the Privy Chamber, and the rest of their train in another room. They hear nor believe nothing of the news of Poland.

¹ Sir Gervase, summoned to parliament as Baron Clifton.

That afternoon, the lord keeper¹ was made lord chancellor, wherein, besides the title, he hath this advantage, it is for life, with £600 a-year increase. The speech goes, he shall be made a baron, and hath the making of another given him to discharge his debts; so, in courtesy, he hath offered his eldest brother for £1000 less than another should give, which he will not accept, mindful, perhaps, of his father's motto, or posy—*mediocria firma*. His lordship, of late, is much insinuated into the king's and Lord Marquis's favour, and takes a new course of thriving, having at one clap cashiered sixteen of his gallants.

The chancellor of the Exchequer² is likewise in predicament to be a baron, and so is Sir Thomas Lake, whose patent, they say, is drawing; and yet, forsooth, in modesty, he would seem to have no such meaning, but says he will rather forbear, finding it will breed him a great deal of envy.

On Twelfth-night was the prince's masque, which, besides the two marquises, was furnished and filled up with Sir Gilbert Haughton, Abercromby, Auchmouty, Hedge, Palmer, and such like dancing companions. There was nothing in it extraordinary, but rather the invention proved dull. Mr. Comptroller's daughter bore away the bell for delicate dancing, though remarkable for nothing else but for multitude of jewels, wherewith she was hanged, as it were, all over. The Spanish ambassadors were invited and well respected there, which the French ambassador took in so ill part, that he hath expostulated very roundly that there is no more regard of him nor his master; and the lord chamberlain had orders to pacify him as much as might be.

The Earl of Exeter complains very much of the Spanish ambassador, that he having from time to time afforded him many favours, and giving entertainment both at his house in Northamptonshire, at Wimbledon, and often here in town, upon assurance that he would procure the delivery of Molle³ out of the Inquisition at Rome, he hath been so far from performing his promise, that he hath now,

¹ Bacon.² Sir Francis Greville.³ Tutor to Lord Roos.

lastly, seduced his son¹ Roos, and sent him to Rome with such recommendations, as he is in danger to be utterly deprived of him.

Your friend, Tobie Matthew, is become a great man with that lady, and I heard it now, two several ways, that he hath perverted her to become a Roman Catholic; which I should be sorry should prove true, or that it should be blazed too far.

The king, before his going to Theobalds on Thursday, made Sir Robert Naunton secretary, with many good words: saying, he had destinated him to it presently upon the decease of Sir Ralph Winwood, though he acquainted nobody with it till now. Further, that he did it *motu proprio et conscientia* of his sufficiency, without any other mediation, and gave him many good lessons, but especially of agreeing and drawing in one line with his fellow secretary. It was my chance to meet and congratulate with him yesternight at the Lady Winwood's, whom he came to visit, and protested, that he had no manner of notice of it till the night before, that the king willed him not to be out of the way the day following. He is gone this morning after the king, who removes to Royston from Theobalds, where he was to have yesternight a play acted by Sir Thomas Dutton, Sir Thomas Badger, Sir George Goring, Sir Thomas Jerningham, Sir Edward Leech, Sir Robert Yaxely, and the like: of Tom of Bedlam, the tinker, and such other mad stuff.

Sir Henry Cary hath not yet the white staff, unless it were given him yesterday at Theobalds, whither he followed the king; but I verily believe he hath or shall have it, for all the difficulties that are cast in the way by the duke in favour of Sir Edward Cecil, and now, lastly, by the Lord Holles, supported by the Countess of Suffolk and the Lady Hatton; who, besides all other causes, had won the Lord Wotton, though he had taken earnest to keep aloof till the king was even in his coach to be gone, and, being willed to follow to Theobalds, pretended indisposition and sickness; but the king answered, "it all is one, for his staff is not sick."

¹ Grandson.

Thus we see how the tide is turned from *omnia Romæ venalia*. In the mean time, the queen is not well, but they say languisheth, whether with melancholy or sickness, and continues at Whitehall, being scant able to remove.

The Lady Elizabeth, we hear, makes great means to come over hither, after she is fully recovered of her childbirth, and is so bent to it that she will hardly be stayed. I see not to what purpose it is, nor what good can come by it to either side; for unless here were a more plentiful world, she will not find that contentment she hath done heretofore, and expects.

Besides Mrs. Middlemore, one of the queen's maids, who died lately of a consumption, we have lost three or four old ladies these holidays—as the Lady Barclay, sister to the Lord Stanhope; the Lady Allet, our oldest London lady; and the Lady North, the Lord North's mother. But to restore the world somewhat, the Lady Walden is said to be with child.

And now to your letter of the 24th of last month, which I received the 7th of this present. I am glad you showed that favour to Rowland Lytton and Captain Harvey, with whom I have some little acquaintance, and think him a proper man, though I doubt somewhat choleric and impatient. Sure their meaning is for Guiana, or some part of the West Indies; and I hope you shall have no cause to repent the kindness done to him or your kinsman. Once, I imagine, they had set up their rest, and had been quite undone if they had been hindered.

I thank you for your French letter, and should have thanked you more, if you had sent the determinations of the Inquisition in the controversy between the Franciscans and Jacobins, which would have been a good errand for me to have visited the Bishop of Ely, who hath kept at home all this Christmas, and preached not at court, being surprised by a sudden surfeit of pork, that had almost carried him away; but now he is in a manner recovered, and sits up again. Since he was councillor, I come not so much at him as I was wont, without some good occasion.

I hear much good of a letter you wrote the king of late, touching the state of these parts, and differences among them. The king commends it much, and it passeth from hand to hand, so that I know divers who have seen it, though it have not been my luck to light upon it. And to say truth, I go not whither now where I may see or learn any thing; but if I get it not in reasonable time, I will hereafter, when you think fit, request a copy, seeing it is so common.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, February 5-15, 1616-7.

I was on Saturday last invited by the University of Leyden to a tragedy of * * *, in Seneca, which they began at two of the clock in the afternoon, and ended at five, so as I went and came back the same day, which made the play so much the better, being both short and sweet; and to give them their due, if their outsides for their dressing apparel (most of the parts being women) had been answerable to their pronounciation and action, they might compare with our universities.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 22, 1616-7.

Your letter of the 5th of this present, and the two single Gazettes, came to my hands all in a day, and not many hours before I met with a large relation of those cloudy tumults that threaten those provinces, if these differences in religion be not the sooner compounded. Sir Horace Vere is sometimes, by fits, reasonably furnished of such occurrants. His lady continues still in weak state, having had two or three relapses. If she recover, next under God, she is beholden to Butler, of Cambridge; who in her greatest weakness, and when the case was desperate, by letting blood and a vomit, wrought a strange cure.

We hear Sir Edward Hoby is at the last cast, being, besides his quartan ague, far gone in a dropsy and scurvy.

It seems the whales are out of their way, that they come so thick on these coasts. We have had two this winter in Lincolnshire; and now, lately, one was cast up betwixt Harwich and Ipswich.

I forgot in my last to signify all I could learn, touching the author of that discourse to the Lord Coke. Some father it upon Mr. Attorney; some upon Joshua Hall¹ or Dr. Hayward;² and some upon one of those you name; but certainly we have none.

Sir Thomas Monson came well accompanied the last day of the term to the King's Bench bar, and there pleaded his pardon, but with much protestation of his innocence, and some secret glancing at the course held with him by the Lord Coke.

I forgot likewise (which grows now too usual with me) to write that the king was expected at the Star Chamber, whither he went the day after the term; and there is a case of challenge 'twixt two youths of the Inns of Court, Christmas and Bellingham—he took occasion to make a speech about duelling, wherein he was observed to bestow many good words on the Spanish nation, and to gall the French more, which he since interprets to be only touching that point. I hear no certainty yet, whether we shall have it in print. The issue of all was, that the gentlemen, who could say little or nothing for themselves, were fined at £1000 a-piece, and imprisonment in the Tower during pleasure.

It was thought there would have been something spoken, touching the journey into Scotland; but there was *altum silentium* in that and other things that were expected. Methinks it is somewhat strange, that the time drawing on so near, and the king being *certus eundi*, that there is no more curiosity of those who are to accompany him; for, besides some few of the household appointed by the lord steward, some of the chapel by the dean, some of the stable (in which number your nephew Carleton) by the master of the horse, I hear not of any of great mark, more than some pensioners, but the three Bishops, of Ely, Winchester, and Lincoln, the Earls of Buckingham, Arundel,

¹ Joseph.

² John Hayward, the civilian and historian, afterwards knighted.

Pembroke, Montgomery, and Southampton : and yet some of these make so slow and slender provision, that I shall hardly believe they go, till I see them gone.

It is generally given out, that it is like to prove a hard journey, in regard they shall come, before there be grass or other provision for horses or for cattle, to be in any good plight or fit to eat. And the Scots themselves, though they do their *ultimo sforzo*, and furnish themselves all that possibly they can, yet do intimate so much both here and from thence; and could be content to hear it were deferred.

The French ambassador and his company were feasted at Whitehall on Sunday, and yesterday at Theobalds, and last night had a great supper at the lord mayor's;¹ who, poor man! has been at death's door these six or seven weeks. The Duke of Lennox feasted him, before the king; and this night he is solemnly invited by the Lord Hay to the wardrobe to supper and a masque, where the Countess of Bedford is to be lady and mistress of the feast, as she is of the managing of his love to the Earl of Northumberland's younger daughter; with whom he is far engaged in affection, and finds such acceptance both at her hands and her mother's, that it is thought it will prove a match.

But, *pour retourner à nos moutons*, this feasting begins to grow to an excessive rate. The very provisions of cates for this supper, rising to more than £600; wherein we are too apish to imitate the French monkeys in such monstrous waste. For, supping with Mr. Comptroller² on Thursday (who, by the way, desires very much you would excuse his long silence with promise of amends), he told me that the Lord Hay, at his last being in France, among many other great banquets made him, had three, whereof the least cost £1000 sterling; the rest, £1300 and £1500. But, if there fall out any thing worth the knowledge at these banquets, you shall have it in my next.

Sir Edward Sackville, Sir Henry Rich, Sir George Goring, and Sir Thomas Badger, are the principal persons in

¹ Sir John Leman.

² Sir Thomas Edmondes.

the masque. The queen's musicians (whereof she hath more than a good many) made her a kind of masque, or antic, at Somerset House, on Wednesday night last.

Some ten days since, your vice-chancellor of Oxford,¹ accompanied by six bishops, many doctors, and above fifty bachelors of divinity and other graduates, went with his bedels before him, from the Doctors' Commons to Baynard's Castle, to make known their election to the Earl of Pembroke, and to invest him with all that belongs to that office.

The Bishop of Durham² is lately dead; and the Earl of Roxburgh has lost his only son in France: a gentleman as towardly, by all report, as any of his nation. The Lady Winwood is very busy in buying stuff for two of her younger nieces, that are to be shortly married; the one to Sir David Wainman's son and heir; the other to Sir Thomas Denton's. Their uncle, Sir Alexander Hampden, assures them £500 a-year land, a-piece; and reserves £1000 land for the oldest, if he find a match to his liking.

Sir William Seymour, that married the Lady Arabella,³ is in some forwardness to marry the Earl of Essex's sister; and Sir John Villiers, one of the Lord Coke's daughters, though there has been long show to Sir William Cavendish and the young Lord Dacres.

Mr. Castle to Mr. James Miller.

[February] 1616-17.⁴

Your friend, Mr. Arthur Lake, is come from France, and Sir Thomas Edmondes is ready to embark. Sir John Digby hath a warrant for the removal of all the money he should have paid for Sherburn.

There is a warrant to the lord chief justice for staying all proofs that may be offered to be said against Sir Thomas Monson for the death of Overbury.

¹ Dr. Arthur Lake, warden of New College, Oxford.

² Dr. William James; he did not die till 12th May, 1617.

³ She died in the Tower, 27th September, 1617.

⁴ This letter has no date, but appears to have been written in the month specified.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, [February] 20, 1616-17.

It were to be wished that a colder season, after the wonted manner, would have brought them to a better temper, they being grown so hot in their disputes and differences in religion, that at Amsterdam the young ones, as they call them, of the town, have sacked a wealthy merchant's house, who is brother to one Episcopopes, a divinity professor at Leyden, and a professed Armenian, going in several bands or companies to this piece of service, and for their ensigns they took a poor fellow's cloak, one of that faction, whom they met casually in the street, and tore it into so many pieces as they had * * * it was a marvel he so escaped with his carcase. There hath been since good order taken in that town by watches and proclamations to prevent the like mischief, and to recover the merchant's loss of money, goods, and household stuff, which came to a great value; but the booty was parted by too many hands, there being above 2000 sharers or sharkers at this pillage.

It is now long since you made mention in your letters of Sir Michael Dormer. He had, as I remember, certain heads and small *statutes* of stone in one of his galleries, for which I would gladly send him arms or what he likes best in this country, if he will part with them; for since I am, by mischance, made master of such curiosities, I desire to perfect my cabinet, as well as I may.¹

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 8, 1616-17.

The Bishop of Durham, *non e morte attrimente*, as I wrote in my last, though I had it from one that might or should know. But Baron Altham is gone away upon three or four days' warning, and Sir John Denham, of Ireland, is in speech to succeed him in his place. The Lady Scot, sister to the Lady Fanshawe, is likewise gone

¹ Sir Dudley had enough employment in looking after the religious disputants that were making so much confusion in Holland; but he found time, it appears, to create a cabinet, for which his previous residence at Venice and now at the Hague no doubt afforded him great facilities.

soon after her husband, and Sir Edward Hoby died this day sevensnight.

The Frenchmen are gone after their great entertainment, which was too great for such petty companions, specially that of the Lord Hay, which stood him in more than £2200, being rather a profusion and spoil than reasonable or honourable provision, as you may guess at the rest by this scantling of seven score pheasants, twelve partridges in a dish throughout, twelve whole salmons, and whatsoever else that cost or curiosity could procure in like superfluity, besides the workmanship and invention of thirty cooks for twelve days. But the ill luck was, that the chief and most desired guest was away; for the young Lady Sidney,¹ with her sister, the Lady Lucy Percy,² going, some two or three days before the feast, to visit their father in the Tower, after some few caresses, he dismissed his daughter Sidney to go home to her husband, and to send her sister's maids to attend her, for that he meant not to part with her, but that she should keep him company; adding withal, that he was a Percy, and could not endure that his daughter should dance any Scottish *jigs*. And there she remains, for aught I hear.

There is a new lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Allen Apsley, whose wife is sister to Sir Edward Villiers's lady, having compounded with Sir George More for £2500. Sir George aims at some higher matter, which, as the tide runs, he may very well miss.

The prince's house is newly settled, the officers whereof I make no question but you know, as Sir Robert Cary, chamberlain; Sir Robert Douglas, treasurer; Thomas Murray, secretary; Sir James Fullerton, groom of the stole; Sir David Foulis was to be cofferer, but, thinking too meanly of the place, and valuing himself higher, he hath found means to sell it to Sir Henry Vane.

Much speech here is of chopping and changing of other places, as that the lord admiral, for the making of a baron, and some yearly pension during life, should resign his office to the Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Buckingham,

¹ Married to Sir Robert Sidney, afterwards Earl of Leicester.

² Married afterwards to Lord Hay, created Earl of Carlisle.

his mastership of the horse to the Earl of Montgomery, and so become lord chamberlain. But whether these matches hold or break off, the captainship of the guard is now in question 'twixt Sir Henry Rich and the Earl of Salisbury; for Viscount Fenton being minded to part with it, had agreed with Sir Henry Rich for £5000, if he could procure the king's good will. In the mean time, the Earl of Salisbury makes him offer of 6000 Jacobus pieces; so the matter rests upon the king's approbation, wherein the Earl of Salisbury, having the Earl of Buckingham's favour, is like to prevail. It is much marvelled how he should be brought to buy such a place at so high a price, it being heretofore always bestowed usually upon knights, and one of the reasons the Viscount gives of his willingness to part with it is, that it is not suitable to the dignity of his calling; and surely most of the earl's friends are much against it, and say that *aliquid latet quod non patet* to him, though others guess shrewdly at it.

The Lord Eure, late president of Wales, hath agreed with the Lord Gerrard for that place, and though the chancellor made great means to settle his son, Sir John Egerton, there yet by favour of the principal verb in court, the Lord Gerrard hath got it, which, with some other accidents, they say hath driven the old lord into such a melancholy, that he is weary of the world, and hath made many means to the king to get discharged of the great seal, and so, between sick and sullen, hath kept his chamber ever since the end of term. Withal, some say, he had vowed never to set the seal to two patents that were sent him, the one for the sale of woods, the other for some impositions on inns. So the king, seeing all things of that nature to stand still by reason of his sickness, went to visit him on Wednesday, and, in his presence, caused that patent for wood to be sealed, and on Thursday sent for the great seal, by the Earl of Buckingham and Secretary Winwood, and presently sealed the other patent to one Mompasson,¹ a kinsman or ally of the Earl of Buckingham's. And yesterday morning, after he had been abroad at Marybone Park, and before going to Theobalds, delivered the

¹ Gills.

great seal to Sir Francis Bacon, and made him lord keeper.

The king's journey into Scotland holds on this day sevensnight, though money come slowly in, and much ado there is and will be to raise £100,000 in this town. Yet there is much urging, and, in the end, it must be done, though men be never so discouraged.

On the 4th of this month, being our Shrove Tuesday, the 'prentices, or rather the unruly people of the suburbs, played their parts in divers places, as Finsbury Fields, about Wapping, by St. Catherine's, and in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in which places, being assembled in great numbers, they fell to great disorders, in pulling down of houses, and beating of guards that were set to keep rule, specially at a new playhouse, some time a cockpit, in Drury Lane, where the queen's players used to play. Though the fellows defended themselves as well as they could, and slew three of them with shot, and hurt divers, yet they entered the house and defaced it, cutting the players' apparel into pieces, and all their furniture, and burnt their play-books, and did what other mischief they could. In Finsbury, they broke the prison, and let out all the prisoners, and spoiled the house by untiling and breaking down the roof and all the windows. And at Wapping they pulled down seven or eight houses and defaced five times as many, besides many other outrages, as beating the sheriff from his horse with stones, and doing much other hurt too long to write. There be divers of them taken since and clapped up, and I make no question but we shall see some of them hanged next week, as it is more than time they were.

The king dined that day with the queen at Somerset House, which was then new christened, and must henceforward be called Denmark House. Sir Thomas Edmondes goes back into France presently after the king's going hence, and Sir John Bennet hath some business to the archduke, whither he shall be shortly sent ambassador, and carries his large wife with him. His stay is not like to be long, and it is a question whether he shall be allowed to come back by you, for avoiding all jealousies. He is

invited to be your *compare* at the christening at Gilston, which I make no doubt but he will perform by a deputy. We go thither, God willing, on Monday, though I were not in worse case this twelvemonths to travel, having been very crazy now a full fortnight. But I hope the worst is past.

These little pamphlets I send you for that they be of so easy postage. That of Sir William Price is not very public. The matter hath been heard by certain appointed by the king, whereof our good friend was one; but it was found so unworthy a part for a son, upon any occasion, to prosecute his grandfather in that sort, and for all his smoothing there be otherwise so many just exceptions to him, that they awarded him only an annuity of a hundred marks during his grandfather's life, and £300 pension a-year after his death.

The watch you sent Mr. Secretary came yesterday very opportunely, as he was going, by her appointment, to speak with the queen. He commended it very much, and told me it was very well liked.

Coming thence late yesternight, I found here your letter of the 20th of the last. I will be ready to do what lies in me with Sir Michael Dormer, but I know not whether I shall ever see him here, and to go thither were to no purpose, for he is in a very weak state, and doth but live and breathe, being scant able to stir, and, for aught I hear, is much decayed since I saw him. I do not remember any statues he hath, great or small, saving only some heads, whereof, to my remembrance, there was but one of marble, the other of stucco or plaster. But if you write your mind to your brother, he goes much thither from the Grange, and hath much conference with him, such as it is, for he hath told me of his being in town. If I see your brother before you write to him, or after, I will speak to him to procure what may be had.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 15, 1616-17.

I went to Gilston on Monday, and the next day we christened your godson, Dudley Williams, and so returned

on Wednesday. Sir John Bennet a good while made show to go himself, then appointed his son, but, I know not what mischance coming in the way, Mr. Brent was delegated to the business; who, together with your sister, Mrs. Alice Carleton, was my assistant, and all was well and orderly performed. Sir John sent a gift cup of some six pounds value. I presented, in your name, a pair of silver candlesticks (having some inkling that they would be most welcome), that came to about nine pounds fifteen; and I received more, of Sherburne, two angels for the nurse, and half an angel for the keeper. Mr. Brent's commission stretched but to five shillings a-piece, and fain he would have been more bountiful, but durst not exceed.

Our new lord keeper goes with great state, having a world of followers put upon him, though he had more than enough before. He is not yet provided of a house, for the lord chancellor, being neither sick to death, nor amending so fast that he might in time retire into Cheshire (as he meant to do), that house of York Place will not yet be vacant. He was in hand with a part of Salisbury House, but found it too little for his turn, and now, they say, he is in speech for Essex House, if it may be had. Sir Henry Yelverton is at last made attorney-general, though with some difficulty, for there was a block of £10,000 laid in his way, which I know not how he removed. Coventry,¹ our recorder, is become solicitor, and I hear one Benn,² of the Temple, shall be recorder.

On Tuesday, Sir Robert Mansell married his old mistress, Roper, one of the queen's ancient maids of honour. The wedding was kept at Denmark House at the queen's charge, who gave them a fair cupboard of plate, besides many good and rich presents from other friends.

Young Sir John Smith, Sir Richard's son, was lately knighted, being bound to it before he could marry one Francklin's daughter, of Middlesex, with whom he had £4000 portion. On Wednesday morning, Robin Hatton, my lord of

¹ Thomas, afterwards lord keeper and a baron.

² Anthony, afterwards knighted, father of Amabella, married to Henry, tenth Earl of Kent, called "the good countess," from her extremely benevolent disposition. She lived to the age of ninety-two.

Canterbury's steward, was likewise dubbed; and the same day, Sir John Wolfenholme, Alderman Jones, and Sir Nicholas Salter, three of the prime farmers.¹ On Sunday, the lord mayor² went to the court to be knighted, where, among many other, was Mr. Secretary, who remains here some fortnight longer, till he go to meet the king, from whom he heard on Sunday last, that he thought he had been on the way, and disavowed any word of stay sent by the Earl of Southampton. Only he remembers he moved him, but he gave him no answer. Yet now he refers it to himself, and according as he shall find it most fit for his service. Whereupon, acquainting the lords with the king's pleasure, they were all of opinion for his longer stay.

These eight or ten days, we have great stirs 'twixt the Lord Coke and his lady, about conveying away the younger daughter, which she will no ways consent should match with Sir John Villiers, as the Lord Coke had agreed, with £20,000 ready portion, 2000 marks yearly maintenance during his life, and £2000 land after his decease. If he had offered these conditions when time was, and taken occasion by the forehead when she presented herself, they might have stood him in great stead. Whereas now, perhaps, he doth but catch at the bald side. The daughter was first carried to the Lady Withipoles, from thence privily to a house of the Lord of Argyle's, by Hampton Court, whence her father, with a warrant from Mr. Secretary, fetched her; but, indeed, went farther than his warrant, and brake open divers doors before he got her. His lady was at his heels, and, if her coach had not tired in the pursuit after him, there was like to be strange tragedies. He delivered his daughter to the Lady Compton, Sir John's mother, but, the next day, Edmondes, clerk of the council, was sent with a warrant to have the custody of her at his own house.

The king tarries nine nights at Lincoln, four at York, and twelve at Newcastle, besides other places. Half the pensioners are gone with him, and twenty-four of the

¹ Of the customs.

² Sir John Leman.

chapel to follow by sea. It is like to prove a very costly voyage every way. The Bishop of Winchester¹ carries with him, besides all other provisions, 2000 Jacobus pieces in specie, and you may think the rest do what they can in that kind. I never knew a journey so generally disliked, both here and there.

Your old friend, St. Sauveur, hath been here these four or five months, attending at the council table about some contentions and complaints made of him by Sir John Peyton, governor of the isle of Jersey; and if our good friend had not stood effectually and resolutely for him, he had been quite crushed and ruined. But he hath procured him a commission, that Sir Edward Conway and Doctor Bird shall presently go thither, and set all straight between them.

The Spanish ambassador had so practised, and found so good seconds, that Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage was, within these few days, in question, and in great hazard to be overthrown here at home, when he was now *in pro-cinctu*, and in a manner ready to be gone.¹

Sir John Digby is to go for Spain about August. We hold that match more than half made, and give out that the King of Spain will give £600,000 in hand, and £50,000 a-year during the king's life. You may believe as much of it as you please. For my part, I am nothing credulous. Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's³ friends complain that they find a great alteration in him, and that he speaks too much Spanish.

The Lord Coke is left in the suds, but sure it is God's doing, according to the old saying, *perdere quos vult Jupiter prius dementat*. For if he had had the grace to have taken hold of the match offered by Sir John Villiers, it is assuredly thought that, before this day, he had been lord chancellor. But standing upon terms, to give but

¹ Dr. James Montagu.

² Sir Walter, having purchased his liberty by an enormous bribe, he had been allowed to fit out an expedition to discover a gold mine in Guiana; but James first obtained from him the most minute particulars respecting his plans, and then made them known to the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, whose intelligence caused his government to take immediate measures to thwart the expedition.

³ Sir John Digby.

10,000 marks with his daughter, when £10,000 was demanded, and sticking at £1000 a-year during his life ; together with some idle words, that he would not buy the king's favour too dear, being so uncertain and variable ; he hath let slip the occasion, and brought himself in danger, besides the disgrace of paying double that sum, if he be convicted in the Star Chamber of somewhat that is thought will be proved against him.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 3, line 18—" Sir Thomas Challoner."

He was the son of Sir Thomas Challoner who had been ambassador from Edward VI. to the court of France, and from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Ferdinand, and was the author of a Latin poem, in ten books, "*De Republicâ Anglorum instaurandâ*." His son also displayed considerable poetical talent when a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, after which he visited the principal States of Europe, and on his return was considered one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, in 1591; and James, on his accession, appointed him governor to his son Prince Henry, who, when created Prince of Wales, gave him the post of chamberlain. He had travelled in Italy, and having inspected the extensive alum works, of which the Pope made a most productive monopoly, (see Beckman's *History of Inventions*) was well acquainted with the importance of this mineral as an article of commerce, and having also acquired some knowledge of chemistry and natural history, made researches as to the possibility of producing it in England. He was so fortunate as to discover that his own estate in Yorkshire might be made to yield it in large quantities, could he obtain the assistance of men who understood the method of preparing it. He then procured secretly the labourers he required from the alum works of the Pope, who, on finding out this attack upon his profits, thundered out the most violent anathemas upon Sir Thomas Challoner, which, of course, did him no harm. Sir Thomas also wrote a treatise on the virtue of nitre; and was in such estimation for his various knowledge, as to be mentioned in terms of eulogy by John Owen, in his second book of *Epigrams*; by Sir Isaac Wake, in his "*Rex. Platonicus*;" and by Henry Peacham, in his "*Complete Gentleman*." He died about the middle of November, 1615.

Page 3, Note 3—" Nosce Teipsum."

The title of this curious work is "*Nosce Teipsum*. This oracle expounded in two elegies—1, *Of Humane Knowledge*. 2, *Of the Soule of Man, and the Immortalitie thereof*." 4to. 1602. Sir John Davis, who was afterwards knighted, wrote several other poems: as his "*Hymns of Astrea*," which are twenty-six in number, of sixteen lines each, every one being an acrostic on the name of the Queen—Elizabetha Regina.

Page 7, line 9—" The Earl of Southampton."

Henry Wriothesley, third Earl—the friend of Shakspeare and the companion of Essex, in whose treason he had participated. The new sovereign bestowed many marks of confidence on Lord Southampton, and also on his fellow-prisoner, Sir Henry Neville, (brother to Edward Baron Abergavenny) who became one of his principal counsellors.

Page 7, last line—" Duke of Lennox."

Ludovick Stuart.—See note, p. 255.

Page 8, line 1—"The Earl of Mar."

John, seventh Earl.

Page 20, line 1—"Lord of Devon."

Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy, created Earl of Devonshire in the preceding July.

Page 20, line 2—"Lord Wotton."

Sir Edward, who had been created Baron in the preceding May.

Page 21, line 10—"The Lady Nottingham."

The first wife of Sir Charles Howard, second Baron Howard of Effingham—appointed Lord High Admiral of England in 1585, and, for his great services in defeating the Spanish armada as well as in taking Cadiz, created October 22, 1597, Earl of Nottingham—was Katherine Carey, daughter of Henry Lord Hunsdon; and his second wife was Margaret, daughter of James Earl of Moray. On the coronation of James, he was appointed lord high steward.

Page 21, line 11—"The Lady of Suffolk."

Lord Thomas Howard, created Earl of Suffolk, was twice married. His first wife was Mary, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His second, Catherine, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert Lord Rich.—*Burke's Peerage*.

Page 26, line 10—"The Lord Treasurer."

Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset.

Page 26, line 29—"The Lady of Pembroke."

Mary, sister to Sir Philip Sydney, for whose monument in Salisbury cathedral Ben Jonson wrote his celebrated epitaph,

"Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse.
Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother;
Death, ere thou shalt find another
Fair, and good, and wise as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee."

See Note, vol. ii, p. 6.

Page 27, line 15 from bottom—"The Lord of Arundel."

Thomas, only son of Philip Lord Arundel, who died a prisoner in the Tower, in the year 1595. He was created Earl Marshal, in 1621, and Earl of Norfolk, in 1644.

Page 34, line 2—"The Earl of Cumberland."

George Clifford, third Earl, eminent as a naval commander, and rather too much so for his fondness for tournaments, horse-racing, and other expensive amusements, in which he squandered away a great portion of his estate. He was created a knight of the Garter, in 1592. He had an intrigue with a lady of rank, which caused a separation between him and his wife, Margaret, third daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford; but they were reconciled a little before his death, according to Sir Edward Hoby, but his daughter, Countess of Dorset, and subsequently of Pembroke and Montgomery, in her MS. Memoirs, does not mention such reconciliation, merely stating that "he died a very penitent man."

Page 34, line 11—"The old Lady Chandos."

Giles Bridges, third Baron, married Frances, daughter of Edward, first Earl of Lincoln. He died in February, 1593-4. His brother, William, fourth Baron, married Mary, daughter of Sir Owen Hopton. He died in 1602.

Page 35, line 24—"The Earl of Kildare."

Henry, twelfth Earl; ancestor of the Duke of Leinster.

Page 35, line 25—"The Viscount Montagu."

Anthony Brown, second Viscount. He died October 23, 1629.

Page 35, line 30—"One Musgrove."

Sir Richard Musgrave, Baronet, of Edenhall, in Cumberland. He married Frances, youngest daughter of Philip, third Baron Wharton.

Page 37, line 8—"The Earl of Northumberland."

Henry, ninth earl.

Page 37, line 12—"The Earl of Worcester."

Edward, fourth earl, K. G. He died March 3, 1627-8.

Page 38, line 8—"Catesby, and some say Tresham, the two Wrights, and one of the Winters."

The first of these celebrated conspirators was Robert, son of Sir William Catesby. He had been one of the partizans of the Earl of Essex, in whose insurrection he had been wounded, and suffered imprisonment in the Tower, from which he obtained his discharge, at the cost of £3000. The others were, Francis Tresham, of Rushton, in Northamptonshire; Christopher and John Wright; the latter a celebrated swordsman; and Thomas and Robert Winter, of Huddington, in Worcestershire.

Page 39, line 18—"Sir Everard Digby."

Of Gotehurst, in Buckinghamshire; father of Sir Kenelm Digby.

Page 40, fourth line from the bottom—"Lord Mordaunt."

Henry, fourth baron. He died in 1608.

Page 43, last line but one—"My Lord of Sussex."

Robert Ratcliffe, sixth Lord Fitzwalter, and fifth Earl of Sussex. He had been at the sacking of Cadiz. He died in 1629.

Page 46, line 7—"Sir John Hollis, Yelverton, Hyde."

Sir John afterwards became Baron Houghton, and Earl of Clare. Yelverton may either have been Sir Christopher, one of the judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, and speaker of the House of Commons, in the reign of Elizabeth, or his son, Sir Henry Yelverton, who subsequently became as distinguished, both as a legislator and a lawyer. The other speaker appears to have been Sir Nicholas, father of Sir Edward Hyde.

Page 46, line 19—"The Earls of Angus and Argyll."

The first was William Douglas, tenth earl—the other was Archibald, seventh earl.

Page 46, line 28—"Sir Edward Montagu."

Third son of Sir Edward Montagu, sheriff of Northamptonshire. He was member for London in the first parliament of King James, and greatly distinguished himself in the House. He was also lord chief justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, in 1616; subsequently lord treasurer, and was created Baron Montagu and Viscount Mandeville. He became, in the following reign, lord privy seal, and was created Earl of Manchester.

Page 47, line 1—"Coventry."

Thomas Coventry, father of Baron Coventry, lord keeper of the great seal.

Page 49, line 29—"My Lady Derby."

Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, married to William, sixth Earl of Derby, to whom he brought two fair sons, of which the one mentioned in the text was the youngest, Sir Robert Stanley.

Page 52, line 27—"Garnet."

Henry Garnet was born in Nottinghamshire, in 1555, and educated at Winchester school. He afterwards went to Rome, where he became a member of the Jesuits community, and returned to England as a secret emissary from the King of Spain, and was implicated, with other priests of the same fraternity, in the gunpowder plot, for which he suffered death, in May, 1606.

Page 52, line 26—"Owen, or Baldwin."

The first was a Welsh Catholic, in the service of the King of Spain, and the other was a Jesuit. Both were believed to have joined the conspiracy of Fawkes, when the latter was in Flanders. Owen was saved from punishment by the refusal of the King of Spain to surrender him to the English ambassador. But Baldwin was conveyed to England, and imprisoned in the Tower.

Page 58, line 15—"Count Maurice."

Count Maurice de Nassau, by the death of his elder brother, Philip, became, in February 1617-18, Prince of Orange. He was the persecutor of Barneveldt, Hugo Grotius, and their coadjutors.

Page 59, line 23 from the bottom—"The Duke of Bouillon."

He was ambassador from France to England, in 1612.

Page 61, line 21—"Sir Edwin Sandys."

Second son of Archbishop Sandys, and knighted by James, by whom he was frequently employed, though subsequently in opposition to the court. He founded a metaphysical lecture at Oxford, and obtained some reputation as an author.

Page 61, line 28—"Rich."

Robert, third baron, created August 6, 1618, Earl of Warwick.

Page 71, line 15—"Montgomery."

Philip, created May 4, 1605, Baron Herbert of Shurland, and Earl of Montgomery. He was one of the favourites of James, who created him a Knight of the Garter, and appointed him a gentleman of his bedchamber. He was also lord chamberlain of the household to Charles I., and chancellor of the University of Oxford; and, being younger brother of William, third Earl of Pembroke, succeeded him in that title.

Page 71, line 18—"The Lord Buckhurst."

Only son of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, lord high treasurer.

Page 77, line 10—"Molle."

John Molle. He was acting in the capacity of travelling tutor to William Cecil, Lord Roos, grandson of Thomas, fifth Earl of Exeter; and whilst in Italy, in 1607, the pupil became a convert to the Church of Rome, and the tutor was made a prisoner of the Inquisition, and remained in captivity till he died, about thirty years afterwards. He had previously filled the posts of treasurer, under Sir Thomas Shirley, to the English army in Bretagne, and examiner to the council in the North. Lord Roos was subsequently employed by James I., as ambassador to the Emperor Matthias, and, in 1616, was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Spain. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, secretary of State, which, as the reader will learn in the course of this work, involved him in a great deal of trouble. He died in the neighbourhood of Naples, June 27, 1618.

Page 96, line 11—"My Lady of Exeter."

Dorothy, daughter and co-heir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, first wife of Thomas, second Baron and first Earl of Exeter.

Page 96, line 14—"My Lord Lumley."

John, Baron Lumley. He had collected a fine library, which, at his death, King James purchased for Prince Henry. It now forms a portion of the British Museum Library.

Page 97, line 12—"Sir Dudley Digges."

Eldest son of Thomas Digges, an eminent mathematician. In subsequent years, he figured prominently in public proceedings.

Page 98, seventh line from bottom—"Sir Henry Wotton."

Younger brother of Lord Wotton. He was employed in several embassies.

Page 121, line 23—"Whitelock."

Probably Sir James Whitelocke, Justice of the King's Bench, father of Bulstrode Whitelocke.

Page 135, line 18—"Thauros."

James Augustus de Thou, the French historian; better known by his Latinized name, Thuanus.

Page 136, line 11—"Mrs. Vaux, the Lord Vaux's mother."

This lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Roper, married to George, son of William, third Baron Vaux; and her son was Edward, fourth baron.

Page 136, line 35—"Lord Willoughby and Sir Edward Cecil."

The first was Robert, tenth Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and the other was afterwards Baron Cecil and Viscount Wimbledon.

Page 139, line 2—"The Marquis of Winchester."

William, fourth marquis. He expended an extravagant sum in entertaining Queen Elizabeth at his mansion at Basing, in one of her Progresses.

Page 141, line 3—"Rich Sutton."

Thomas Sutton made an immense fortune by working coal mines, and in other mercantile speculations; and leaving no heir, founded the noble charity, since known as the Charter House.—See Hearne, *Domus Carthusianæ*.

Page 147, line 13—"The Lord Norris."

Francis, second Baron Norris, subsequently made Knight of the Garter, and created Baron Thame and Earl of Berkshire.

Page 148, line 6—"Lady Hatton."

She was daughter of Thomas Earl of Exeter, widow of Sir William Hatton, and second wife of Sir Edward Coke.

Page 165, line 3, "Marsilias."

Theodore Marcilius was Professor Royal of the Belles Lettres at Paris, though a German, and had the reputation of a learned author. Among his works are "*Historia Strenarum, &c.*," and a commentary on the golden verses of Pythagoras.

Page 171, third line from bottom—"Lord Denny."

Baron Denney, of Waltham: he was in 1626 created Earl of Norwich.

Page 185, line 23—"Moro."

Marc Antonio Memmo succeeded Leonardo Donato as Doge of Venice. See *Daru, Histoire de Venise*, livre xxx.

Page 194, line 1—"Sir George More."

He was appointed, in 1610, treasurer, or receiver-general, to Prince Henry, and chancellor of the order of the Garter. He had been member for Guildford since 1585, and became Lieutenant of the Tower in 1615.—See Wood, *Athen. Oxon*.

Page 195, line 11—"Toby Matthew."

He was son of the Archbishop of York. Some account of him will be found in Horace Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers.

Page 201, sixth line from bottom. "Butter of Cambridge."

Dr. William Butter, one of the most celebrated physicians of his time, but eccentric, and of dissipated habits. He was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge. In the first line of the note at the bottom of the page, by a typographical error, Schoppius is called an *artist*, instead of a *satirist*.

Page 208, line 23—"Sir James Leigh."

Sir James Ley, Bart., sixth son of Henry Ley, Esq., of Teffont Evias, Wilts. He

was Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, and subsequently held the same office in England; was then lord treasurer and president of the council, and was created Baron Ley and Earl of Marlborough. He was the author of several historical and legal works.

Page 217, line 10—"Marquis Hamilton."

James, second marquis, a Knight of the Garter, created, June 16, 1619, Baron of Inverdale and Earl of Cambridge.

Page 332, line 19—"Sir John Hebert."

Sir John Hobart, eldest son of Sir Henry.

Page 360, line 9—"Moulin the Minister."

Peter de Moulin was partly educated at Cambridge, but returned to France and obtained the benefice of Charenton, and was appointed chaplain to Catherine, sister to Henry IV. He distinguished himself as a controversialist against the Jesuits, which obliged him to seek refuge in England, where he obtained a stall in Canterbury Cathedral; but subsequently became tutor and professor of theology at Sedan. He published several religious works.

Page 385—"John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton."

This and the two following letters, by an error in the date, are wrongly placed. The year should be 1617-8, and therefore they should have been placed in a subsequent part of the work. In these letters, the printer has dropped the *r* in Spalatro; and at page 390, line 19, Buckingham is styled Duke, instead of Lord.

Page 388, line 11—"Sir Allen Apsley."

Father of Lucy Hutchinson, in whose well-known memoirs of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, some interesting particulars of him will be found.

Page 416, line 23—"Sir George Goring."

Afterwards Baron Goring and Earl of Norwich.

Page 416, line 25—"Sir Thomas Jermyn."

Afterwards treasurer of the household to Charles I.

Page 434, eleventh line from bottom—"The Lords Maltravers, Percy, and Wriothesley."

The first was James Lord Mowbray and Maltravers, eldest son of Thomas Earl of Arundel: the second, Algernon Baron Percy, afterwards tenth Earl of Northumberland; and the third, Thomas Lord Wriothesley, eldest son of Henry third Earl of Southampton, whom he succeeded in the title in 1624, and was subsequently lord treasurer, and Knight of the Garter.

END OF VOL. I.



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